

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RETURNED EXILES OF 1553-1558 IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Alexander Peter Kup

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
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AN ACCOUNT OF THE RETURNED EXILES
OF 1553-1558 IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

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Being a Thesis presented by

ALEXANDER PETER KUP

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

THE UNIVERSITY OF
THE MEMORIAL
AN ACCOUNT OF THE RETURNED EXILES
OF 1853-1858 IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Being a Thesis presented by

ALEXANDER PETER RUP

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following is
a record of research work carried out by me;
that the thesis is my own composition; and
that it has not been previously presented
for any other degree.

CERTIFICATE

I certify that *Mr Alexander Peter Rupp*
has spent nine terms at Research Work under
my direction and that he has fulfilled the
conditions of Ordinance Number 16 of the
University Court of St. Andrews, so that he
is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis
in application for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy.

Research Supervisor.

CAREER

I matriculated in the University of St. in January 1944 and followed a course leading graduation in Honours History in June 1948.

On July 1949 I commenced the research on account of the returned exiles of 1553 - 1558 England and Scotland"which is now being submitted as a Ph.D. Thesis.

I was appointed in October 1949 to a Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland Scholarship.

C O N T E N T S

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

When Henry VIII broke with the Papacy, he found it necessary to canvas the support of the only anti-papal party that there was in England, and these were the protestants. Thus it was, when he died, that Edward VI's tutors and Council were largely drawn from people who were not only anti-Papal but also anti-Catholic. Their zeal for reformation, however, did not outrun the bounds of common sense, for they saw that they must act circumspectly in the matter of weaning the mass of the country from the old faith; and so the change was slowly introduced, guided at first by Somerset and Cranmer. Neither of them were violent men, whilst Cranmer became almost what we would now call purely Anglican in his outlook upon Church affairs. It is noteworthy that those ex-Catholics who were most opposed to Ceremonial belonged to the most puritan of the regular orders. Bishop Hooper, for example, was a Cistercian and that order insisted upon simplicity both in church architecture and in ceremonial. Cranmer, however, possibly because he had been ordained a Catholic priest, still felt that the Papacy formed a direct link with the primitive church, no matter how far astray it had wandered in the

subsequent centuries.

The continental protestants, however, against Cranmer's wishes, brought with them when they came to England a new sharpness of logic and bitterness of controversy. Cranmer still dreamt of an universal Catholic Church in Christendom which would be united and strong, but there arrived from abroad men who held the Pope to be anti-Christ and who sought to find as many differences as possible in Scripture and elsewhere from this theory. Many of these ideas quickly gained a hold at Cambridge, and after the victory of Pinkie the Protector Northumberland quickened the pace of Reformation in England, partly in an endeavour to make secure his own position. The Second Edwardian Prayer Book was therefore more protestant than the First, whilst England became a sanctuary for many reformers in Scotland who had been forced into flight by Cardinal Beaton. Yet the Church had barely reached the fringe of Calvinism - being mildly protestant in doctrine and still Catholic in ritual - when Edward died, to be succeeded by his half-sister who almost immediately announced her intention

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of marrying a Catholic prince.¹

This alliance presented vast problems at home, and necessitated a change in the balance of power in Europe. It was proposed that Mary's dowry should be Burgundy and the Low Countries, for by this means the Emperor hoped that England would uphold the Netherlands, thus leaving the Hapsburg forces to concentrate on stemming French successes in Italy. On the other hand, it was expedient that the pace should not be forced in case France, in a last endeavour to stave off the Hapsburg flood, should adopt the protestant faith and thus become the head of a strong anti-Catholic and Imperial League.

The Pope, on the other hand, rather favoured France at the expense of the Emperor at this period, and he had no wish to endanger the cause of religion by seeming to assist an unpopular king onto the English throne. Philip had already made himself cordially detested in Germany and Flanders and it seemed likely that he would behave in a similar manner in England.² His Holiness

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¹ For the gradual quickening of Edwardian religious policy, and its trend from Zwinglianism to a form of mild Calvinism see: E.H.R. I pp. 419-21, X pp. 443-444, IXX pp. 98-121, XLIV p.1 et seq., H.E.M. Prescott, Spanish Tudor, pp. 119-20, 149, 193.

² Cal. Sp. Papers XII p. 249, Philip to Privy Council, May 12th 1554; written before Philip knew whether Parliament had voted the Marriage Treaty, yet signed "Philippus Rex".

was therefore inclined to look elsewhere for a candidate, and, being under an obligation to Pole, favoured him rather than Philip as a bridegroom for Mary Tudor. Naturally, in Imperial eyes, Pole became an object both of fear and suspicion, so that every endeavour was made to prevent his arrival in England before the marriage of Philip to Mary, whilst Simon Renard, the Emperor's ambassador, suspected the Lord Chancellor Gardiner and the Cardinal of having an understanding about the rebellion in the Spring of 1554 before ever it broke out, and of knowing that its object was to favour Courtenay, the latter's kinsman.¹

More generally, it was estimated by the French Constable that one third of England, Catholic and Protestant alike, was against the Spanish match,² whilst earlier in the year, subsequent to Queen Mary's publication of her intention to marry Philip, Renard reported that:

"The Florentine, Genoese, and Venetian merchants, as well as several merchants of London have murmured, declaring that it would mean their ruin." ³

¹ Ibid. p. 152, Renard to Emperor, March 14th. His suspicions were not without foundation. See Ibid. pp. 78 and 230, Same to same, Feb. 5th and May 1st 1554.

² Ibid. p. 212, Same to same. April 7th 1554.

³ Ibid. p. 31, Same to same. Jan. 18th 1553/4.

It was therefore to the interest of Mary and the Emperor to move both slowly and carefully, and indeed this is a counsel which was bandied to and fro between them and one constantly thrust before Philip by his father. There is no doubt that it was for this reason that no action was taken by Government until the late Spring of 1554 which might force into flight either the more timid or the more embroiled opponents of the impending settlement. Indeed, even then, it was very much against the wishes of the Queen and also of the Imperial Ambassador that Gardiner - backed by other Catholics in the Privy Council - began his hasty policy of rushing religious measures through parliament at a time when "neither gentle nor simple will hear a word about the Church's authority;"¹ whilst even those conspirators who were caught after Wyatt's rebellion were prosecuted in a dilatory and lenient manner, so that it almost seemed as though Mary was loath to prosecute at all, for fear of rousing further opposition to the

1 Ibid. pp. 107 and 168, Same to Same, Feb. 17th and March 22nd 1553/4. The protestant inclined elements in the Council, told the Queen that: "the nobility did not want another Duke of Northumberland, meaning the Chancellor." (Ibid. p. 168); whilst the Queen, on one occasion, told her unruly Council that its actions were too independent and that they would never have dared to behave as they did in her father's lifetime, and, pathetically, "she only wished he might come to life again for a month." (Ibid. Same to same, March 22nd, also Ibid. p. 197, 220, 261.)

arrival of the unpopular Philip. This policy of leniency to traitors was not one which was favoured by the Imperialists, for it was imperative that all should be as quiet as possible when Philip landed to consummate his marriage with the Queen at Winchester, and thus make the marriage final, according to the practice of betrothal by "verba de presenti".

There were, therefore, two groups who wished to persecute those who had actively opposed the new regime, and between them they constituted a threat to both the political and the religious malcontents, which, broadly speaking, made up the body of 485 persons who are known to have sought sanctuary abroad.

Of this number it has been found impossible to classify satisfactorily 39 who went into exile, but the remainder was constituted as follows:

i. Gentlemen	202
ii. Churchmen already ordained or subsequently receiving orders upon return	133
iii. Merchants	58
iv. Artisans, servants, etc.	30
v. Scottish exiles	23 ¹

Among them were 117 who had been engaged in conspiracy to a greater or lesser extent, of whom 16 of the more prominent came from Devon, 15 from Kent and 14 from London, these places being the centres of rebellion.

1 See Chapter IV.

As might be expected, the two latter districts produced the biggest total of exiles, for from London came 66, and from Kent 50. Other large groups came from certain Eastern counties - Essex produced 26; Norfolk 20; Lincolnshire 18; Yorkshire 17.¹

Certain London merchants had been committed to the new religion ever since the day that Humphrey Monmouth and others had financed Tyndale, whilst others had been amongst those who had signed the letters patent limiting the Crown to Queen Jane. It is not surprising, therefore, to find 33 of them in exile on the continent, lying open, as many of them did, to indictment, not only from Gardiner upon religious grounds, but also from the Council as a whole for political malpractices.

The choice of refuge in any particular city was one which each individual exile must have made for himself according to his sympathies and friendships. Thus those who had supported Courtenay, mainly from the West country, found a ready sanctuary across the Channel in France or in the French dominated Northern cities in Italy. The others, who had opposed the

1 See Appendix 1 passim.

Settlement rather upon religious than political grounds, chose to flee to those places in Germany, Switzerland or along the Rhine that contained the school of theology with which they most sympathised. Hence there were to be found exiles in Spires, Wasselheim, Heidelberg, Copenhagen, Friesland, Hamburg, Wesel, Emden, Zurich, Basle, Aarau, Frankfurt, Geneva, Venice, Padua, Rome, Paris and Rouen. Here they lived, some in great poverty and some in grand style, and here those that were interested began to discuss the question of church doctrine; a debate which rapidly developed into disagreement as illustrated by the Troubles of Frankfurt. Upon their return, this question had been virtually settled, so that the controversy now tended to be restricted to ritual and church government under Elizabeth. But since religion was still as important in politics at Elizabeth's accession as it had been at that of her half-sister, the returned exiles found that their differences had immediate political repercussions.

It is the purpose of this thesis to discuss the relations between the returned Marian exiles and the Elizabethan Settlement, both in the sphere of religion and in that of politics. Since the struggle for reformation in the adjacent Kingdoms of Scotland and

England began at much the same time and suffered a similar history of vicissitude, under the Stuarts and the Tudors, the reformers in the one Kingdom not infrequently sought assistance from those in the other during this period. Consequently the fourth chapter has been devoted to certain aspects of the Scottish Reformation in the sixteenth century, together with a biographical list of those twenty-three persons who were in exile during the years 1553-8, some of whom have attracted little attention hitherto. Other exiles whose presence has been overlooked in recent years will be found summarised at the beginning of Appendix 1, together with those who, whilst included in Miss C. H. Garrett's admirable book "The Marian Exiles", have been omitted for one reason or another from this present list.

For the rest, Chapter I is an endeavour to uncover the processes of thought and the growth of political ideas among the exiles upon their return. For, whether they lived among the great like Henry Knollys playing chess in Wensleydale whilst guarding the Scots Queen, or whether they acted a humbler role as wandering preachers in the Fens, or across the Thames at Wandsworth, all these men's thoughts centred

31/ upon a determination to guide the settlement of religious affairs as satisfactorily as might be, according to the truth as they saw it. Yet, the sphere of religion being at this time indistinguishable from politics, it seems that the exiles in practice did place politics before religion with very few exceptions. This may be seen in Chapters II and III respectively, which treat with the religious activities of the returned churchmen in the Southern and Northern Provinces, where only a handful of them ever suffered sequestration or deprivation from their offices. It was rather the wilder generation which they bred that proved itself so intransigent under the Stuarts, ^{a generation} which had never known the uncertainty of exile, nor the troubles of a doubtful succession and could therefore no longer see the need for compromise. The first generation of reformers had sought some justification for their rebellion from the Papacy, and had found it in the original Imperial rule of the Spiritual Head of the Primitive Church. Thus Bishop Jewel, an official exponent of the Elizabethan Settlement, had cited the Emperor Constantine as a forerunner of Elizabeth in the preface of his "Apology". In fact, the earlier reformers, including Foxe and Luther, saw that the reform of the Church

should be in the hands of a godly Prince, not only as one who would replace the authority from whom they wished to be free, but as one who was the only power that could assist them in their work. The succeeding generations, when their position seemed more secure and protection therefore had become less necessary, absolved themselves from this contract, and wished to continue the work alone. Hence arose the struggle between Church and Prince that culminated in the Civil War.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

For permission to inspect material in Lambeth Palace Library, the Norwich Registry, the Cathedral Library, Canterbury, St. Paul's Cathedral Library, and the York Diocesan Registry respectively, I am indebted to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Norwich and the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's and Colonel Innes Ware O.B.E., T.D. I am further indebted to Colonel Ware for his kindness in allowing me a portion of his own office in which to work during my researches at York.

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British Museum: Additional; Cottonian; Egerton; Harleian; Lansdowne; Sloane and Stowe MSS.

Cathedral Library, Canterbury: Archdeacons Visitation, Acta, Comperta and Detecta; Registers Dean and Chapter, Court of Faculties; Miscellaneous MSS.

Kent County Record Office, Maidstone: Registers Archdeacon's Court, Canterbury, various; Registers Consistory Courts, Canterbury and Rochester, various.

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*An
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE RETURNED EXILES

"Wood, Williams, Whittingham and Sutton
Valued the Prayer Book not a button;
Altered Confession, changed the Hymns
For old Jack Hopkins pithy rhymes."¹

From the moment that Reform lost its official backing upon Mary's accession, the aim of the party was to obtain once again what it had lost - the power of initiating church order and discipline -. The culmination of this did not occur until the middle of the next century, but the steps reaching up to it became more and more drastic as time went on.

In the beginning, there was no idea of the church being the body politic, and no idea of the spiritual rulers being mightier than the temporal ones, except in so far as the latter were expected to rule "sub Deo et sub lege".² In 1554 there were many protestants in

1) Quoted in Presbyterian Historical Society of England. 1931 p.11 by J. H. Colligan. Old anonymous jingle.

2) i.e. Political thought is half-way between Aquinas' dictum that "Every law framed by man has the character of true law exactly to that extent to which it is derived from the law of nature" quoted from the "Summa" by F. J. C. Hearnshaw in "Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilisation" p. 262, and Hobbes' theory that natural law is simply the law of reason.

prison, some of whom were to escape to exile and some of whom were to be martyred for their faith, but never, in their minds, was there any thought of treason against the Sovereign at this time. The Confession issued from prison, signed by the Bishops Ferrar, Hooper and Coverdale, and by Rogers, Philpot, Bradford, Crome, Saunders "and others, eminent divines"¹, stated their belief in justification by faith, and their consequent detestation of Masses and the withholding of knowledge from the congregations consequent upon the use of latin in the services. This belief, they asserted, they felt competent to prove "either in disputation by word, before the Parliament houses (of whom we doubt not to be indifferently heard), either with our pens whensoever we shall be therto, by them that have authority, required and commanded"². They were prepared to submit themselves to authority, and this Confession was a call from the protestant Headquarters for passive obedience amongst their followers. The letters of those still in England or of those abroad at this time are all along similar lines. Bishop Hooper, writing to console certain prisoners for religion³, whilst railing against "The

1) Strype, Eccles. Memorials V pp. 221, 224-227.

2) Strype, Eccles. Memorials ibid.

3) Hooper's letter, Jan. 4th 1554, in Strype Memorials VI pp. 273-276.

malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish and tyrannical," adds "Oh! glad may you be, that ever you were born, to be apprehended and taken while you were so vertuously occupied. Blessed by they that suffer for righteousness sake.....shrink not, although it seemeth to the flesh painful". Latimer added, significantly, that, though "we must obey God before man, I meane none other resistance but to offer our lives to the deathe."¹ Even Sampson, who soon felt the need of sterner measures, wrote to his old parishioners of Allhallows, Bread Street,² reminding them that they could not, with a true conscience, dissemble, for one cannot, he said, embrace Popery and the Gospel. But he ends by advising them to "suffer and bear with an humbleness and quick obedience"³. Pilkington advised the same course, and quotes St. Peter who advocated obedience to kings as "the chief and highest ruler",⁴ even though he were not a Christian.

Strype, upon recording this remark, adds "this was the state of the Protestants that remained in England",

1) The Protestation of Latimer at Oxford, April 20th 1554, Strype Memorials VI p. 294.

2) Ibid. pp. 227-241.

3) See also his letter to Mr. Welles of Rye when still Bishop of Chichester, Brit.Mus.Cotton.ms. Cleop.E V f.306.

4) Strype Eccles. Memorials V p. 230-1.

implying that their tune changed to a sterner note upon arrival on the continent, where they were free from persecution. This, one feels, though partially true, is not all the truth; for there is little doubt, that the Confession, issued from prison in 1554, which asked for a Conciliar or parliamentary audience, meant what it said when it added "In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shal behave ourselves to all that be in authority".¹ The Protestants had no intention of making trouble if it could possibly be avoided. Their party was too small to expect anything save disaster from such a policy, so that passive resistance alone was possible, as Thomas Mountain and his fellow prisoners fully realised, who, upon being asked by a messenger of Wyatt whether they cared to be set free, replied: "We thynk yt good her styll to remayne tyl yt please God to worke or delyverence as yt shall seeme beste to hys glory and owre lawfull dyscharge: whether yt by lyffe or deather we are content. Hys wyll be done upon us and thus fayer you well."² If they did not, like Mountain, wish to face imprisonment, the only choice was flight, and so the

1) Ibid. VI p. 224-227.

2) Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 425 f. 108 from Thomas Mountain's own account of his arrest.

Protestant exodus began, and it is from then on, accidentally, and not as a preconceived plan, that their tune changed.

To begin with, there was no alteration in their plan of campaign. During the years 1554-55, a series of pamphlets was published in exile and despatched to England, either for printing or distribution - or for both. The most important of these, for our purpose, are two pamphlets put forth by Day, the printer, about Oct. 5th 1554, called "The doctrine of the Masse Booke" and "The Confession of the Banished Ministers". The former alleged to expose the magic of the priests during the service of the Mass and the latter was intended to wean the commonalty from their ancient faith. This Confession was purposely timed, so as to be on sale in London just before the Parliament met, which was due to be called on November 12th 1554. It was addressed to "The Lordes of England, and as the Commons of the same". The first Confession, written from prison, had "Doubted not to be indifferently heard" by the parliament, but their hopes had been vain, and persecution had already begun after the failure of Wyatt's rebellion in February. This Confession, therefore, was specifically addressed to the Lords and

Commons of Parliament. So far, the two were consistent - the second Confession expressing what the first had only implied - a hearing by Parliament for the case of protestantism.

But underneath - and taken as a step in the accompanying pamphlet campaign; especially the latter - it implied much more. For it was all part of a plan to obtain backing for an anti-Catholic reaction from the legislature and also from the country. What was sought was political support for a religious undertaking, and this support was canvassed for by a spiritual justification of their creeds.¹ The facts are these: To coincide with Philip's arrival in England, there had been sent from abroad Knox's "Godley letter sent to the fayethfull in London". Now there appeared "The doctrine of the Masse Booke", most decidedly anti-Catholic in an endeavour to canvass support for protestantism from the commonalty, and "The Confession"; both were published from Strasburg and both appeared just before the parliament met, which was to consider a rapprochement with Rome, and just after Mary had renounced her Headship of the English Church.

1) See E.H.R. X 426-429. Ponet's treatise of "Politike Power" is a similar document in so far as it was written to give "moral support to the conspiracy of Sir Henry Dudley to kill the Queen!" C.H.Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, Camb. 1938 p.257.

Thus, any religious matter dealt with in the forthcoming parliament would be entirely its own responsibility. This effort at alliance with the Parliament to defeat the purposes of the Crown was to create, as Miss Garrett has said, "a precedent for revolutionary action in the future"¹. But it was still constitutional, and still a "humble" address. In 1556, in Ponet's "Treatise of politike power" it had become, in desperation for its being disregarded, "an exhortation or rather a warnyng to the Lordes and Commons of England", where it forms his 8th Chapter. Day and Singleton had brought over from Wesel to Yarmouth the "Confession" and the "Doctrine of the Masse Booke". They had sent copies on ahead and followed eleven days later, but meanwhile their agent was arrested for distributing these books in London, so that all three spent the winter of 1554/5 in the Tower. They escaped together in January and fled to Strasburg where they printed the "Resurrection of the Mass" that same year, and many other works later.² Who this agent was, it has been impossible to discover, but one of the distributors of heretical literature was Thomas Bryce, who

1) Church Quarterly Review vol. 137 p. 194.

2) Ibid. pp. 155-156.

carried over books from Wesel to both London and places in Kent.¹ Another was Elizabeth Young of Winchester, who, according to Strype, came over from Emden "with a book called 'Antichrist' and several others, who was taken up for bringing in prohibited and heretical books and endured much trouble."² Being imprisoned in Colchester, Queen Elizabeth freed her upon her accession, possibly because she felt a certain sympathy with those women who had braved exile alone, a feeling undoubtedly intensified because, when she herself was a prisoner in the Tower, one of her own ladies-in-waiting, "Mistress Sands now wife to Sir Morice Bartlet"³ upon refusing to hear Mass, was forced to flee abroad to Geneva and Basle in order to avoid arrest.

Elsewhere on the continent there were other schemes afoot, and there is no doubt that in every city to which they had fled the exiles were earnestly discussing the problem of reform, each pressing for their own peculiar order. Thus Edward Frencham, the merchant friend of John Abell and Erkenwald Rawlins, wrote,

1) See also William Punte App. I Essex County p. xxxix. for certain others.

2) H. J. Cowell, Reprint of the Proc. Huguenot Soc. XV no. 4(1937) pp. 42, 44 and Foxe, Acts and Monuments (1849 ed.) VIII pp. 538, 578.

3) Foxe op.cit. VIII p. 581. Her presence abroad has been overlooked in recent years.

probably in the Spring of 1556 from Zurich to Thomas Randolph at Strasburg, enclosing in his letter "certayne ynterrogatyons and answeres thereunto, of the cheffe poynts both of or ecclesiasticall and also of or cyvyll governas (i.e. governance) here at Zurych."¹ The interrogations about ecclesiastical matters concern such burning questions as the election of ministers, their stipends, their councils, fast days and the administration of the Sacrament. Frencham wrote to Strasburg because at this time it was undisputedly the intellectual centre of the English exiles. "The Confession" had been written from that city by John Ponet, who still styled himself "John Winton", and it had contained a preface by Thomas Sampson, the ex-dean of Chichester and, after Ponet, the highest ranking ecclesiastic abroad. But, besides these, there had been gathered there at various times: Parkhurst, Sandys, Cox, Grindal, - all to be consecrated at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign -, James Haddon, who had been entrusted by Bishop Hooper of Gloucester to carry a letter from him to Bullinger, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir John Cheke and Sir Richard Morrison, all three friends of Cecil, and

1) Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 416 ff. 125-128, Orig. letter endorsed 1556.

Cooke a regular correspondent with him throughout his exile. Indeed it is interesting to speculate upon Sir Anthony's seemingly casual presence in Strasburg, before going on into Italy, during the very months that the Confession was being drafted, for it is possible that in some manner he was presiding over the discussions there from which it was hoped to evolve an official constitutional plan of reform should Queen Mary die. Also it was he who carried the Bill for the Prayer Book to the House of Lords in 1559.

Meanwhile, elsewhere, and notably at Frankfurt, the exiles were quickly shewing their wish for Reformation without tarrying for any. All at Frankfurt had agreed that certain portions of the Prayer Book - those concerning the surplice, the litany, and certain forms of ceremonial during the administration of the Sacraments - should be abolished, and wrote to their colleagues elsewhere setting forth their ideas of a discipline to establish unity of worship and religious organisation abroad. But the others - and in particular Ponet at Strasburg - would only consider affiliation on the basis of the Second Edwardian Book, and since Lever and Knox at Frankfurt had been already elected superintendents and the latter was unlikely to tolerate

anything which could not be proved from the Scriptures, they sent back a refusal.¹ At Calvin's suggestion, a compromise was adopted at Frankfurt which lasted from February 6th till March 13th 1555.² The official party then made an effort to control this faction and Cox - who by his contemporaries was considered an intimate of Cheke,³ and who for ten years had been immediately connected with Prayer Book Revision - was sent from Strasbourg to Frankfurt, possibly by Ponet.⁴ Here he quickly overcame Knox's faction and it was determined that "other order then the booke off Englande they shulde not have"⁵, but they did give up confirmation, saints days, kneeling at Communion, crosses, and other similar things, for fear of "the decreasinge off their companie".⁶ The signatories to Cox's letter summarising his revision of the Prayer Book, written to Calvin⁷ contain the names of: Sampson, who had co-operated in the "Confession",

1) Goodman's "How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed" was produced at this time, and not unnaturally was repudiated by the Elizabethan - i.e. conforming-Puritans later.

2) Troubles of Frankfurt, p. xxxviii.

3) Parker Soc. Original letters II 684, Burcher to Bullinger, Aug. 16th 1553.

4) C. H. Garrett - Marian Exiles, p. 135.

5) Troubles of Frankfurt - pp. xlv-xlvii

6) Ibid. p. lx and Original Letters II p. 754.

7) Parker Soc. Original Letters II pp. 753-755.

Becon, Ponet's chaplain, Thomas Lever, who, with Sampson was suspected by Bancroft of being responsible for the Admonition to Parliament in 1572, Edmund Grindal, later an Elizabethan Archbishop, and others. In fact learned men came from all parts for the purpose of supporting Cox, so that, on March 26th, the latter was able to present to the magistracy of Frankfurt, when permission to use the Prayer Book was solicited, three doctors of divinity and thirteen bachelors of divinity. Both by policy and by its sympathies, this scheme of Cox bears the stamp of the official plan of campaign, but it is significant that the necessary compromise could only be achieved by going beyond the 2nd Prayer Book.

But the trouble did not cease there, for there arose a quarrel between the elders and ministers of the congregation about the question of discipline. This, of course, was no new thing, but as soon as free discussion over church matters was possible, now that they were abroad, it was a question which could be resolved at their convenience. Already in England, during the first year of Mary's reign, had appeared a "Booke entitled The Defence of Priests marriages", which had been prefaced with "An Adresse to the honourable Prelates of the Church". This preface,

in defending the marriage of the clergy, had said:

"If the Bishop of Rome, or any other Bishop whatsoever, should take upon them any auctoritie or jurisdiction, in suche matters as bee civill (as matters of marriages....) no doubt, said yee that Bishop (is) not worth to bee called a Bishop, but rather a Tyrant, and an usurper of other mennes rights, contrary to the lawes of God and is to be reputed a subvertor of the Kyngdome of Christe: yea, and besides these thinges and many other, yee put it in our Creede and beliefe, as an article of Salvation and Damnation that the Church of England is as well to be named a Catholic and Apostolic Church as Rome Church or any other Church, where the Apostles were resident. And yee will us to believe in oure faithe, that there is no difference in superiority, preheminance or auctoritie one over the other, but bee all of equall power and dignitie. And that all churches bee free from the subjection, and jurisdiction of the church of Rome. And that no church is to bee called schismaticall, as varieing from the unitie of the church of Christe, if it persists in the unity of Christes faith, hope and charitie, and the unitie of Christes doctrine and Sacraments, agreable to the same doctrine".¹

In this argument, are contained the germs of nearly all the subsequent quarrels. There is no doubt that Elizabeth did use her bishops "in suche matters as bee civill", but that yoke was not laid too heavily upon the puritans until the next century. This is perhaps surprising when it is recollected that the upshot of this quarrel over discipline at Frankfurt was such that it was concluded that: "the church was above

1) Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. App. XLVIII f. 58.

the pastor and not the pastor above the church".¹ The danger of this theory was seen by those at Strasburg even before it had been officially promulgated, so that Cox, Grindal, Jewel, Becon, Sandys and Sir Anthony Cooke had all gone over to Frankfurt in an endeavour to keep that congregation within the fold, whilst Sir Francis Knollys and Sir Thomas Wrothe both strove to reconcile the two congregations by personal intervention.² These negotiations failed, however; Horne, the leader of the conservatives at Frankfurt, having resigned, Cox and Jewell had also lost all authority, whilst Bale, frightened by John Brett's arrival and attempts at extradition on behalf of the government at home had taken fright and fled to Marburg.³ Grindal, by now apparently despairing of ever being able to return to England, had left Strasburg to preach at Wasselheim and Spires in Germany, considering, no doubt, that it was no longer necessary to keep a check on the radicals now that a return from exile seemed so

- 1) Troubles of Frankfurt, p. lxxvii.
- 2) C. H. Garrett, Marian Exiles, passim.
- 3) J. Bale, Scriptorum, IX 756.

unlikely.¹

There returned to England, therefore, three factions, the out and out (Geneva) radicals, the almost as radical Frankfurt group who had discovered that a church could be a body politic; and those who had decided to work slowly and constitutionally through parliament. What was not realised was firstly that Queen Elizabeth did not intend to allow her parliaments to have any control over the matter, and secondly that although the scheme of opposing her will in parliament might appear to be the one least likely to cause visible trouble in the country, it was going to be impossible not to follow this creed to its logical conclusion and to try to abolish her executive officers - the bishops - whose ranks she filled from these very men. But the returning exiles were not alone in their inability to agree, for there were some in Kent "falling in argument whether it were necessary to stand or kneel bare-headed or covered at prayer and concluding the ceremony not to be material but the heart before God was it that imported

1) That the fears of those at Strasburg were well grounded may be seen when it is noticed that of those whose subsequent careers are known and who signed the refusal of Knollys' offer of reconciliation (they were 12 in all): 5 were not heard of again, or died soon after, 1 quickly got into trouble over the question of surplices, 1 was imprisoned, and 1 sequestered for nonconformity. Troubles of Frankfurt, CLXXIIII.

and nothing else."¹ On the continent there was the same indecision; thus, in late October 1557, Ortelius had written to Immanuel van Metheren:

"When I left Frankfurt the colloquium at Worms had not yet begun; but when they had met a quarrel arose among the protestants, those of Jena (a new University of Duke Augustus)² and others wishing to condemn the Calvinists and Zwinglians, whom they call Sacramentarii, as heretics. But Melancthon opposed them, and it is said that those of Jena have left in anger, and that the others are still debating."³

To Elizabeth, therefore, upon her accession, was added, not only the uncertainty of her succession, the War with France, and the cares of a religious settlement, but also the additional worry of deciding which protestant camp she wished to patronise should a Catholic Settlement of English ecclesiastical problems prove inadvisable. In the first few months there is no doubt at all that she wished to commit herself upon as few religious questions as was possible, but, as Professor Neale has shewn, circumstances forced her to go more quickly than she desired⁴. It is likely that Elizabeth intended up to the last moment to dissolve her first parliament on March 24th, but that she

1) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 ff. 95 and 105.

2) i.e. The Elector of Saxony.

3) J. H. Hessels, Ecclesiae Londino - Batavae Archivum I p. 15, a Translation.

4) E.H.R. vol. LXV 1950 pp. 304-332.

changed her mind on that very morning, and merely prolonged it from that day until April 3rd. These dates become significant when the passage of the two bills for the Supremacy and for uniformity of religion through both the Houses are considered in relation to them. On March 18th the second Bill for the Supremacy arrived in the Commons from the Lords, who had added certain provisos and additions to it.¹ That is to say, the Commons, which is known to have contained twelve exiles,² had already discussed the Bill in its original form and sent it up to the Lords who altered it in the course of their debates and returned it by March 18th; whereupon it received its three readings in the Commons by March 22nd and was returned on that day to the Upper House, presumably in time, as the Commons thought, to

1) It is significant, as a guide to the influence of the returned exiles in these matters, that the first Bill for Supremacy was "committed to Mr. (i.e. Sir Francis) Knolles, Mr. (i.e. Sir Anthony) Cooke" - both exiles. D'Ewes Journal p. 54 (1682 ed.). Commitment was rare in those early Elizabethan days, and argues a pressing desire for amendment of this controversial Bill.

2) They were: Thomas Crawley, Aylesbury Borough; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Lyme Regis Borough; Thomas Fitzwilliams, Weymouth Borough; Sir Anthony Cooke, Essex County; Richard Cooke, Preston Borough; Thomas Randolph, Grantham Borough; Sir Thomas Wrothe, Middlesex County; Sir Ralph Bagnall, Stafford County; Sir Francis Knollys, Arundel Borough (Members of Parl. I pp.400,401, London 1878); Peter Carew, unknown (D.N.B. III p. 969); John Bateman, Nottingham; John Hastings, Leicester (J. E. Neale. Eliz. Ho. of Commons, pp. 170 note 2 and 197 note 1.)

be passed in the Lords in order to receive the royal assent when parliament should be dissolved on the 24th. However, something - possibly the arrival of a messenger in the morning with news of peace with France - made the Queen change her mind, so that she merely prorogued parliament for the Easter recess until April 3rd.¹

During this recess many members attended the Westminster Conference which was held in order to discuss the religious question. The eight disputants for the Protestant side were Scory, Cox, Horne, Grindal, Aylmer, Whitehead, Jewell and Guest, and all save Guest had been in exile so that it was not surprising that they exceeded their instructions and took as their criterion the second, rather than the first Edwardian Prayer Book. Parliament then returned and, following the example of the Conference, passed not only the third Bill for Supremacy with its special clause for Communion in both kinds, but also the Bill for Uniformity. The latter required subscription to the second Prayer Book of Edward VI with its provision of the cup to the laity, and therefore automatically made redundant the special clause in the Supremacy Bill providing for Communion in both kinds. It is to be noticed that the Uniformity Bill never appeared in the Commons

1) Hist. Ms. Com. Hatfield ms. I nos. 569-571.

until after the Easter recess, and only received its third reading there on April 25th when it was sent up to the Lords, so that it may be presumed that Elizabeth had never intended to permit so controversial a topic to be discussed in that parliament. Undoubtedly the result of the Westminster Conference had influenced many of the more luke-warm members of the House, so that they were the more easily persuaded after the recess to exceed their instructions just as the Conference had done. Meanwhile, Jewell wrote of the ecclesiastics among the returned exiles - "Sandys, Grindal, Sampson, Scory (and why should I particularise these?) all of us remain still in London".¹ - This was done that they might be at hand to encourage Queen or Parliament or Council, should any shew signs of flagging. They pressed the Queen to make some definite declaration of religious policy in case she should change her mind and listen to the Catholics who were endeavouring to win her favour through Convocation, which had not yet been purged of the Marian officials. Thus, certain exiles presented a document to Elizabeth assuring her that they were not "a company of sectaries and schismatics" and that they did not improve (improbare i.e. call in question) nor

1) Parker Soc. Zurich Letters I p.18, Jewell to Peter Martyr, April 28th 1559.

recede from the articles of 1553. But what had not been realised was that Elizabeth was by no means prepared to go as far with them even as that, which no doubt represented the least that they wanted in the way of reformation. Indeed, so determined had the Commons become, that they turned down a Bill providing for thirty-two persons who should draw up certain ecclesiastical laws; as Strype says: "Men did not then care to be restrained by church discipline",¹ and the Queen no doubt felt it wiser to submit to their demands and so, on the afternoon of Monday 8th, before she dissolved her first parliament she gave her royal assent to both Bills, and so passed the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity.²

It has been stated that there was no other standard of doctrine in England at this time besides the Prayer Book, until the second Convocation and the second Parliament began to consider the Articles of Religion.³ But this was not the case, for Parker, by now consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, brought out his Eleven Articles late in the year 1559 or early in

1) Strype Annals I p. 59 (1709 ed.).

2) D'Ewes Journal pp. 22-28, 30, 52-54 (1682 ed.).

3) E. J. Bicknell, A theological introduction to the 39 Articles, London 1925.

See
p. 16

1560, whilst there somehow appeared, in a manner which will be discussed later, another set of Twenty-four Articles at some date prior to July 15th 1561. These were used in certain places until superseded by the "Thirty-nine" Articles in 1562/3; yet it may be argued that neither of the sets of articles prior to the "Thirty-nine" were any less authentic than the latter, for the Queen, after the Commons had passed them three times and sent them up to the Lords, forbade the matter to be discussed further, so that the Bill did not receive the royal assent until 1571.

The origin of the Twenty-four Articles which appeared in 1561 is obscure, and Strype, who quotes them in latin, merely remarks that they were "Articles of Faith to be submitted to by all ministers" and printed by Richard Jugge,¹ who had passed his days of exile at Emden. It is certain that Archbishop Parker never used them, for though they resemble in many ways his original "Eleven" and also the articles which he imposed during his Metropolitan visitation in 1560,² they are by no means identical. Neither, of course, are they the same as the Thirty-nine Articles³ discussed in

1) Annals I pp. 209, 210 (1709 ed.).

2) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 301.

3) It has been thought more convenient to refer to them throughout by their final title, although, of course, their number was originally more than that.

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1563, although here again they have much in common. But it does not seem to have been hitherto remarked that they were actually imposed by Archbishop Thomas Young in his Primary Visitation of York Diocese between July 6th 1561 and some time in the first half of the year 1563, at which date they were superseded by the Thirty-nine.¹ Their contents, therefore, are of immediate interest as constituting an intermediary step between the original articles suggested by Parker in 1559 or 1560 and the final settlement in 1562/3; especially as it seems most probable that they are a result of the preliminary discussions held by Parker, Young and other Bishops which led up to the compilation of the Thirty-nine Articles. This is borne out by a comparison of Parker's original "Eleven", the "Twenty-four" imposed by Young in his York visitation and the final set of Articles in 1562/3 which later came to be the "Thirty-nine" of the Established Church of England to-day.²

Firstly there are several direct legacies from Parker's "Eleven" to be found in the "Twenty-four". Indeed articles 2 and 3 of the former are contained,

1) York Dioc. Reg. VI A. ff. 2 and 3, 6v, 9r. 14r.

2) See Appendix II p.cxxxix for Young's Visitation Articles 1561.

in their original order though not verbatim, in the first four articles of 1561, whilst Parker's Consecration Oath is repeated almost word for word in article 14, which says:

"That our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of Englande is thonlye and Supreame Gouvernesse of this realme, and all hir Dominions and Countreys whatsoever in matters and causeis Eccleasticall as temporall".¹

Similarly, much that is contained in the sixth article which Parker imposed upon the clergy during his Metropolitan Visitation in the Province of Canterbury is also to be found amongst the "Twenty-four", so that there can be no doubt that the latter are emended or strengthened successors to all previous "official" sets of articles which had been issued in the preceeding three years. Also, because they are more Protestant and anti-Catholic than those that had gone before as well as those Thirty-nine which were to follow after, they represent the apogee of the reformers' successes in obtaining official sanction for their views. Never again under Elizabeth, in spite of agitation, pamphlet

1) Parker's Oath (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f.9) runs:- "...your Majesty is the only supreme Governour of this Realm and of all other your Highnesses Dominions and Countreys, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or Causes as Temporal" (quoted from J. Collier, Ecclesiastical History II App. p. 93 (1714 ed.)).

warfare or petitions to the Commons or Convocation, were they to come so nearly to gaining what they sought in the matter of doctrine.

There is evidence, however, that they had not achieved their position easily in 1561. Thus Parker in his Eleven made no reference at all to the question of a Real Presence in the Sacrament, and there is little doubt - considering the recent state of the Queen's Chapel with its candle and crucifixes¹ - that he continued to oppose any mention of such a controversial topic in 1561; yet article no. 10 of the Twenty-four states:

"That the transubstantiation wch the scolemen helde of Brede and Wyne unto the body and Bludde of Christe, cannot be provyd out of holy Scripture".

But not only did they succeed in this matter in 1561 but the reformers in Convocation also managed to get a similar statement included in the articles of 1563; but then the Queen promptly struck it out. This, of course, was in line with her policy at this time when she omitted, from the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, the words "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities", and it is not surprising to find that article 9 of the Twenty-four also disappears in

1) W. H. Frere, A History of the English Church, p.53.

1563, for it stated:

"That the Masse wch was accustomed to be said of prests was not instituted of Christe but patched together by many Romyshe Bushops. And that it is not a sacrifyce propiciatorye for the quicke and the deade".

On the other hand, somehow or other Parker must have persuaded the others who drew up the Twenty-four in 1561 to insert the fourth article which said:

"That every particuler Churche haith the auctoritye to institute chaunge and abrogate or disanull all ecclasticall Ceremonyes and rites, for decent order onely and not for Edifiyinge".

In Convocation, however, the thirty-three or more exiles in the lower house and others of the reforming party¹ must have been too strong for him so that it was originally omitted from the Thirty-nine until the Queen replaced it. This, of course, was in direct opposition to the puritan who denied the churches authority to enforce any rite or ceremony not expressly commanded in the scriptures.

But, in spite of their apparent loss of ground in 1563 the more advanced reformers did not give up hope; the articles of that year were not finally ratified until 1571, so that the puritan and other extremists no doubt considered, in the light of the Eleven, the 1561 and the

1) Strype Annals I pp. 290-91 (1709).

1563 editions of the articles, that there were yet further additions to come in which they might yet gain what they desired. For they were not satisfied with the doctrine as it then stood - particularly since they had once had the denial of the Real Presence actually within their grasp - so that Humphrey and Sampson wrote to their old friend Bullinger in July 1566:

".....the article composed in the time of Edward the Sixth respecting the spiritual eating, which expressly oppugned and took away the real presence in the Eucharist and contained a most clear expression of the truth, is now set forth among us mutilated and imperfect".¹

Grindal himself was in a quandary, no doubt hoping for a further reformation and hesitating to prosecute those with whom he sympathised in their struggle to obtain a further advance, so that Parker wrote to him on March 28th 1565, asking him to keep an eye on certain nonconformers in London. He added:

"And yet some few persons I feare more scrupulous then godly prudent have not conformed themselves, p'adventure some of them for lacke of particular description of orders to be followed, whiche as your L. dothe knowe were agreed upon amonge us longe agoe, and yet in certeyne respects not publisshed.....now.....I.....requiere and charge you as you will answere to God and to her maestie to see her Mats Lawes and iniunctions duely observid wthin your dioc."²

1) Parker Soc. Zurich Letters I p. 165.

2) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 256 v. Copy.

Such punishment as authority laid upon the more violent reformers did not fall upon them without warning and it was rarely imposed without just cause. Indeed one is forced to conclude that much of it was anticipated by their leaders as a thing which was to be feared from the very moment that one or two of them began their extravagant campaign for a reformation without tarrying for any. Thus Gilbert Berkeley, consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1560 upon his return from Strasburg, lost no time in complaining to Cecil about the conduct of William Turner, a fellow exile now reinstated in his Deanery at Wells. Turner, it seems, a restless fellow known to nearly all the cities of English exile abroad, had returned full of impatient zeal to build a newJerusalem, and as early as March 1564 he began to rail against all Bishops calling them "white-coats and tippet gentlemen", whilst some ten months later he made an adulterer do penance in a priest's square cap.¹ Consequently he was sequestered for this and other misdemeanours.

At about the same time another exile, John "Club-foot" Hales, fearing that Elizabeth might die childless

1) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. VIII ff. 3 and 47 respectively, Berkeley to Cecil, March 23rd 1563/4., and Parker to Cecil April 1565.

and thus leave vacant the throne for Mary Queen of Scots, and perhaps led on by discussions of a similar nature which were occupying the Commons at this time also, began his campaign for the Suffolk claim to the throne which culminated in his pamphlet the "Right of Succession to the Crown of England". There is no doubt that others shared his fears so that there is even extant an endorsement written in a slightly later hand upon a contemporary account of Lord John Grey's part in this affair:

"And many great ones there were, yt countenanced ye book and ye assertion, out of fear of a Papist coming to ye throne. As ye L. Keeper Bacon, and, as was thought, Secretary Cecyl, and this L. John....."¹

But even if they feared such things, those in authority had no call to meddle in the Queen's prerogative, as she herself told the Commons at this time, and we read elsewhere that Bacon was "long out of favour" for his support of this affair.² It is perhaps typical of the wily Cecil that his part in the matter could only be suspected; but, whatever his sympathies, it fell to him to deal with the malefactors, one of whom being his

1) Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 6990 f. 60, original letter Robert Dudley to Cecil.

2) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f. 99.

cousin Thomas Dannett, a former exile whose complicity with Hales has hitherto passed unnoticed.

Dannett had been one of those who had followed the Suffolk rising in 1554, and upon his return Cecil had endeavoured to obtain for him the post of Ambassador at Paris in succession to Throckmorton in 1561, but this attempt had failed. Indeed it was not until 1563, when he accompanied Sir Thomas Smith to France to sue for the return of Calais, that he received his first employment. Upon his return, however, he again attached himself to the party of Suffolk, and Robert Dudley who had examined him seems to have found him some embarrassment when it came to reporting the matter to his relative William Cecil. He says in his letter that he and the Marquess of Northampton had examined one Anthony "Penne" over this matter who:

".....sayth yt such a wryting was delyvered unto him by Tho. Dannett, as a case wrytten by a scoller a mā(n) of John Hales, touching my L. Hartfords marriage.....what ye think good to doe touching Dannett, yf he be thear, we referre yt to you, yet we meane and think yt mete, yt ye speak wt him, yf he be theare".¹

John Hales for his part in the affair was sent to

1) Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 6990 f. 60 and Camd. Soc. XLVIII Chronicle of Queen Jame pp. 65, 71 and Cal. S.P. For. 1561-2 nos. 570, 596, 648.

confinement in the Tower, from which he was released by Cecil's intercession, but only under bond that he was not to quit his house for four years without the Queen's license.¹ He died a few years after, perhaps as a result of the severe illness which attacked him at this time so severely that he could not walk.

But, since nothing more is heard of Dannett, it is likely, from what Dudley has written, that he fled abroad again to France, for it is quite certain that he would be no more popular with the sincere majority of exiles than he was with Government. It cannot be too strongly stated how much they wished for unity. Unity as a nation was just as important as unity as a party within that nation. This was a consummation as devoutly wished for by the continental reformers as it was by those newly returned to England. Bullinger wrote to Jewell and Parkhurst exhorting them in 1559 "to carry themselves boldly and stoutly in the cause of religion", and Jewell replied that this "was an admonition absolutely necessary, and that because they were to oppose, not only old popish adversaries, but even their late friends, who had now revolted from them.....

1) Cal. S. P. Dom. 1547-80 vol. XLVI no. 30.

and sided with their adversaries....."¹ In March 1564 twelve exiles and eight others presented a petition to the parliament, which is endorsed "Exhibitum 20 Martii A^o 1564 per Mil. Coverdal Decanum London Decanum Oxon: tho Cole Arch: Essex: Laur. humfrey: michel Kewyl et responsum 22 eiusdem".² This petition begged for one thing above all:-

".....ita dextras societatis iungemus amicissime, communemque causam, communibus consiliis et curis adversus omnes hostium machinationes et insultus propugnabimus fortissime".

It is this feeling, one considers, rather than fear of sequestration and the consequent poverty which led certain exiles to conform when threatened by the High Commission for nonconformity. But none the less, they continued to persevere in their endeavours to obtain further reformation by constitutional methods, and when the second parliament of the reign met in 1562, there were others, besides those petitioners quoted above, who sought to gain their ear. Thus was published in

1) Strype Annals I p. 133 (1709 ed.)

2) St. Pauls Cath. Lib. ms. I "Epistolae virorum Doctorum de rebus Ecclesiasticis tempore Eliz. Regina" no. 119, orig. petition with autograph signatures. The exiles were: Coverdale, Whittingham, Laurence, Humphrey, Thomas Cole, Richard Alvey, Wiborne, Foxe, Mullins, Thomas Lever, Alexander Nowell, William Porrege, Richard Langherne.

that year "The lawes and Statutes of Geneva" translated by Robert Fielde, who had spent eighteen months exile in that city, and printed by Rowland Hall, who had produced the edition of the English Bible printed at Geneva during his exile there. An excuse was made for the smallness of the book but it was that "by which that city was able to govern itself in much honesty, justice peaceableness and religion", and there is no doubt but that it was intended to shew the government how easily a reformation might be obtained which would suit the returned exile. At the same time, a great deal of progress was made with a book of Discipline in the lower House of Convocation, which contained many exiles, but Parliament, to whom the matter was referred, having already become persona non grata in Elizabeth's eyes by discussing the question of her marriage, was promptly dissolved as soon as they broached the subject.

promulgated

Furthermore, political issues requiring the sympathy of foreign Catholics towards England forced Parker to issue his Advertisements of 1564/5 which ordered the wearing of surplices and silk hoods in every diocese.¹ Humphrey, Sampson and certain others, replying to this

1) York Dean and Chap. Lib. M. 8, "Advertisements 1564" p. 124.

article said that vestments were, actually, things indifferent in themselves in theory; but in practice they were "insidious"¹ and retrograde. By association the surplice was popery and they felt bound to refuse to wear it. So Sampson and thirty-seven others in London were sequestered.

In the absence of High Commission records in the Southern Province, it is difficult to decide how sternly the authorities proceeded against these vestitarian non-conformers. But in the Northern Province it is very noticeable that the Visitation and Act Books of the High Commission, hitherto concerned mainly with isolated cases of protestant iconoclasm, with indictments by the injured party in broken marriage cases and with the administration of the oath of Supremacy to School Masters, now become, from 1566-68, full of citations regarding the non-use of proper vestments.² Yet the penalties imposed are generally slight, whilst by February 1568/9 the pendulum swings round again and a Commission is appointed to visit Ripon "not only for the searchinge out of Images and other monuments of Idolytry and supersticon.....but also to deface and burne the Images

1) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 8 no. 45.

2) York Doc. Reg. High Com. Visitation Books Passim.

and other monuments...."¹ Therefore, the nonconformers were quickly forgiven, whilst few were deprived, so that in 1574 William Whittingham and Robert Swift, two of those threatened with deprivation in 1567, were actually appointed to the strength of the High Commission itself, which in that year also contained the former exiles James Pilkington - Bishop of Durham - and William Lakyn, and possibly Sir William Drury if he is one of the seven knights of that name also included.² Up to the end of 1570, out of the full complement of returned exiles in the church who numbered just over one hundred and thirty only four had been deprived, and four sequestered.³ The cases of William Turner and Thomas Sampson have already been discussed, whilst the deprivation of Thomas Lever and William Birch, both from Durham, are considered elsewhere.⁴ Robert Crowley was

1) York Dioc. Reg. Act Bk. High Com. 1568-9 f. 59v.

2) P.R.O. S.P. 12 vol. CXIX no. 60. Ecclesiastical Commission York Province 1574.

3) Doubtless certain rigorous penalties were imposed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but the Queen's policy was such that she did not want to persecute any for religion unnecessarily. Thus, in 1583 she wrote to them: "We lett you wytt that we mynd not to take the extremytie of the forfeitures in any such case or in any other case of equitye as by the Rygor of lawe we might but rather to deale graciously in that behalfe and especially wth those that have or shall conforme them selfs as aforesaid". (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 97 ff. 163-169.)

4) See Chapter III p. 165.

sequestered in 1566 for his hostility to surplices, which he called "porters' coats", whilst David Whitehead and Percival Wiborne had both forfeited their livings in 1564, doubtless as a result of their over fervent support of the articles against rites and ceremonies and also because of their subscription to the petition for a discipline. Whitehead's subsequent career until his death is unknown, and it is possible that he received preferment again after a while like Wiborne, who was still allowed to preach and also to retain his prebends of Rochester, Norwich and Westminster.¹ However, in 1566, Wiborne, being still in semi-disgrace, made a journey to Zurich which raised a storm of complaint from the English Bishops, and which, according to what Wiborne himself said later, did him little good, for he maintained that Bullinger had snubbed him and refused to see him.²

This statement, however, does not in the least tally with what Wiborne wrote to Beza in June 1578, for then he said:

"I believe that there is no corner in christendom which does not acknowledge itself deeply indebted, in matters of religion, to

1) C. H. Garrett op.cit. pp. 325, 331.

2) Parker Soc. Zurich Letters I pp. 187-191, and II 140-2.

your town (i.e. Zurich) and your ministers, and that there is no nation, your own France excepted, which has received more and greater benefits than we English. Occasionally you received us as exiles with great hospitality, and, after our reception, cherished us with every kindness and affection; not to speak of the great enjoyment which we derive from your works. I myself experienced all this in 1566 when I visited you in company with Kingsmell (i.e. Andrew Kingsmell) and my friend Ralph Warcup".¹

In the light of his subsequent career, and in view of his travelling companions on this journey, there is little doubt why he wished to conceal his business abroad from those at home. Ralph Warcup was a brother of one who had spent his exile under Mary at Frankfurt, whilst his mother had not only befriended Jewell in his flight at that time, but also had given shelter to Laurence Humphrey, the fourth man of this group to be sequestered upon his return in 1565. Laurence Humphrey had become President of Magdalen College in 1561, but because he "did.....stock his college with a generation of non-conformists",² and since he proved so strong in his hostility over the matter of vestments, he was deprived and took refuge with Ralph's mother near Nettlebed in Oxfordshire.

1) Orig. letter, Wiborne to Beza, Friday June 13th 1578 from London. Quoted in H. J. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum* II p. 169 - a translation.

2) Anthony & Wood, *Fasti Oxoniensis* I p. 242 (1721 ed.).

Wiborne's other companion, Andrew Kingsmell, was also a brother of one who had been in exile under Mary, for Henry Kingsmell had been in the train of the Earl of Bedford at Venice, and subsequently in Padua where he may have died. Andrew, however, was a well-known puritan, and there is little doubt that it was in order to canvass support from the continental reformers for their separatist movements in England that Kingsmell, Warcup and Wiborne travelled to Zurich. Upon their arrival they obtained audience of Beza who found them rather hard to please in their impatience for a quicker reformation,¹ for he perfectly understood the need for making haste slowly in these matters and had little love for the extremists in Geneva. This episode is of interest because it ante-dates by four years Cartwright's stay in Geneva in order to gain the sympathy of the reformers there before he returned to take the lead in the Admonition controversy in 1572, whilst Wiborne by now deeply involved in separatism, was one of those who later wrote to him asking him to return from that city. It would seem therefore that Wiborne, finding no support at Zurich, travelled on to Geneva,

1) Parker Soc. Zurich Letters II p. 128.

where he was already known from his previous exile, and there he may have found the sympathy that he desired, and which led Cartwright to the same spot a few years later.

For by the middle of the second decade under Elizabeth, the question of church discipline had become a burning torment in the hearts of many besides Wiborne. The more intelligent puritans realised that the bishops only acted from pressure exerted from above, but some of the lesser radicals could not see this, and thus arose separatist organisations such as the Plummers Hall congregation of 1567.¹ Of the seventy-two taken prisoner on March 5th 1568, who belonged to this congregation, I can find only two who were exiles: Thomas Hancock is typical of the sort of man who joined these congregations. Violent enough to be up before the Assizes in 1548 for preaching against the Mass,² he yet changed his opinions sufficiently to be appointed a minister of Poole, Dorset, under Mary, but was forced to flee to Geneva, where he did not describe himself as a minister, but as a "savant" when received into

1) C. Burrage, *Early English Dissenters* I p. 80.

2) *Camden Soc. Narrative of Ref.* vol. 77 pp. 72-4.

"residence" there.¹ The second exile who was a member was John Bolton, a weaver who was imprisoned for speaking against the Mass in Lent 1554, or for railing upon Queen Mary when feigning madness.² He returned to live "in Longe-Lane, by Smithfield. He ys a silk-weaver".³ He was elected an elder in Fitz's congregation, was imprisoned, made to recant publicly at Pauls Cross, and was consequently excommunicated by his church and hanged himself as a result.⁴ These congregations were, in fact, short-sighted and fanatical in policy and could not possibly hope to succeed.⁵

There is another possible connection between the exiles and these separatist movements. One of those taken prisoner in James Tynne's house as being one of the Plummers Hall congregation on March 5th 1568 was a

1) C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 176.

2) Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 425 f. 18, from John Foxe's Papers.

3) Strype Memorials VI p. 430, from "Information gathered at Reading 1571 touching the storie of Julius Palmer, Martyr".

4) C. Burrage, op.cit. I p. 88.

5) cf. George Gifford, Puritan minister of Essex, who wrote (quoted by Knappen "Tudor Puritanism" p. 311 from "A short treatise against the Donatists of England". London 1590) "Now when the common artificer, the apprentice, and the brewer intrude themselves and they will guide the same, being ignorant rash and headie, what worldlie wise man will not take it that discipline herself is but a bedlam". And Heylin Aerius Redivivus, London 1670 p. 264-5.

"William Yonge dwelling in Temesstrete".¹ On June 18th 1574 he appeared as prisoner in the Marshalsea - whether he had been there ever since 1568, or whether he had been incarcerated later upon another charge it is difficult to decide - for whom "Roger Hool, fish-monger, and Gregorie Younge, grocer "² stood bail in order to give him his partial liberty. The relationship of the Youngs seems to be wrapped in mystery,³ but these are perhaps relations of the two Youngs who were Marian exiles - possibly one is William's son. Almost a year later, upon sureties similar to those demanded of Watson - a former prisoner for Catholicism, it seems - he was allowed to go to Bath for health's sake, from April until Michaelmas.⁴

9 The true reformer wanted at least a national, and at the best, an international reformed church. These churches, by their very first principles could never become even the former. Browne, a few years later, said "the Kingdom of God is not to be begun by whole parishes but rather of the worthiest were they never

- 1) Champlin Burrage, Early English Dissenters II p. 9.
- 2) Dasent VIII p. 253.
- 3) Garrett op.cit. p. 348.
- 4) Dasent VIII p. 367.

so few".¹ This was not the true reformers' view, and these congregations are, therefore, merely relatively unimportant by-products of the Reform Movement. This did not, however, prevent some of their more balanced members from assisting in the general puritan movement at a later date.

What Sampson and Humphrey had begun as an attack upon vestments quickly resolved into one against the supremacy and the bishops. Cartwright did not consider that he was attacking the Prince, but only the system of secular authority in ecclesiastical matters. But again preaching licenses were reviewed and in 1571 Lever, Sampson, Goodman, Walker, Wiborne and Robert Browne were brought up for nonconformity, and forbidden to preach,² all save Browne being Marian exiles.

But by now the party had supporters in Parliament - in less than another ten years puritan activity in Parliament went so far as to attack the bishops in the

1) John Brown - The English Puritans, p. 103. cf. The answer of the ministers to the articles of religion in Scotland - Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31.2.19 f. 136. "The whole world is not to be taken for ye flocke of every particular Pastor, but his principall charge is to edify his own flocke over which he hath a calling and charge". Document has no title.
2) Strype, Life of Grindal, p. 252 and Proceedings of Hug. Soc. XVI no. 2 reprint London 1939 p. 17.

House itself.¹ To the Edwardian leaders, Cranmer and Ridley, bishops had been allowable but nothing else, as they were to Parker. In connection with Cartwright's attack upon the Episcopacy, Parker wrote to Burghley in 1573: that he was quite willing "to refer the standing or falling (i.e. of the bishops) altogether to your own consideration, whether her majesty and you will have them ordered".² But the old leaders were disappearing - Turner died in August 1568, Coverdale in February 1569, and Whitehead and Cole in the Summer of 1571. However, Cartwright's plea for church authorities to be appointed by the church follows directly from Ponet's theory in his "Politicke Powers" that it was the community which was vastly more important than the Prince, and if its good was not legislated for, then the tyrant should be deposed. This is by no means an original idea, but it does serve to illustrate how Ponet's plan of campaign for achieving a reformed church in England

1) J. W. Allen, "Political thought in the 16th Century" p. 216, and Dasent XI p. 132 May 20th 1579. Also Wentworth was summoned before the Council in connection with secret meetings held in his house of Lillinston, Northants, "to receive the Sacramentes after an other sorte". Heylin, Aerius Redivivus, London 1670 p. 267.

2) Parker Soc. Parker Corresp. p. 454.

was still being pursued. There was no idea of rebellion from the tyrant, but only the old effort of endeavouring to bring the Prince's governmental machinery - in this case the parliament and the bishops - into working for the good of the community as represented by a church-community. Alongside of this attack, there marched one for the education of a fit body of clergy, and so was started, between 1570-72, a greater attack than ever before by the Reforming Party. It was aimed along three lines and it looked for parliamentary support. The first objective, that of creating a learned ministry, was obtained by the beginning of "propheying". This was no new thing in the party's policy. Ponet, in his "Notable Sermon" preached on March 14th 1550 before the King, had said that the "grammar school was the creation of the church", it "educated the priest, the administrator, the lawyer, the physician, the civil servant and the university scholar",¹ and therefore should be closely scrutinised. And so the last attempt to do what they had begun to do in 1554 was made, not by the conforming party as exemplified by Parker; not by the extremists - most of

1) J. W. Adamson: The extent of Literacy in England in the 15th and 16th Centuries. The Library 4th series vol. X p. 175.

whom had been by now sequestered, fled to Scotland or become entangled in congregational activities - but by those who wished, as Ponet, Cooke, Cheke and other leaders had done twenty years earlier, to get the country as a whole - and therefore legally - to set up a church according to God's word - a government of the Godly -. The trouble was that the implications of this had come to mean very much more than was intended twenty years earlier.

As Mr. Knappen¹ points out, the way in which legislation was pushed through in this parliament of April-May 1571 shews a distinctly puritan party in the parliament. Strickland,² on the 6th April - four days after this parliament began to sit - "made a long discourse tending to the remembrance of God's goodness, giving unto us the light of his word..... and blaming our slackness and carelessness in not esteeming and following the time and blessing offered; but still as men not sufficiently instructed what is truth". He mentioned the confessions of faith from Strasburg and Frankfurt and remarked that an attempt had already been made to get some such thing approved

1) Tudor Puritanism, p. 227.

2) D'Ewes Journal 1682 Edition, p. 156, et seq.

in parliament, but it had been unsuccessful. Mr. Norton had this book and he asked that he should be allowed to produce it - "although the book of Common Prayer is (God be praised) drawn very near to the sincerity of the truth, yet are there some things inserted more superstitious, than in so high matters to be tolerable".¹ Norton then produced the Book which was "to make ecclesiastical constitutions..... which was drawn by that learned man, Mr. Doctor Haddon, and penned by that learned man, Mr. Cheke". Sir Thomas Smith, and William Fleetwood both spoke for the motion, the latter adding, "We all have as well learned this lesson, that there is a God, who is to be served, as have the bishops", which remark was drawn forth when Smith suggested that the bishops should be allowed to give their advice upon the matter of the Bill for enforcing church-going and attendance at Communion. Aglionby, a Burgess and Recorder of Warwick, a few days later maintained that: "concerning the receiving of Communion.....it was not convenient to force consciences.....He said also that it was the opinion of Fathers, and Learned men of this land; and

1) Ibid. p. 157.

therefore wished they might be consulted with".¹

But there was no thought of extremism, for Strickland rose and while agreeing with Aglionby: "withal he said, Conscience might be free, but not to disturb the common quiet".

On April 14th the Bill for the Reformation of the Prayer Book was introduced by Strickland.² It was quickly objected by the Treasurer Knollys - speaking officially for the Queen's party - that if the matters were heretical then they should not be discussed, if they concerned ceremony, then they should be referred to the Queen. A certain Mr. Pistor, M.P. for Stockbridge, then lamented that matters of the soul "stretching higher and further to every one of us than the Monarchy of the whole world, were either not treated of, or so slenderly, that now after ten days continual consultation, nothing was thereon concluded". This was backed by Snagge, so that it was decided that the Queen should be petitioned.³ The result of the ensuing heated debate was Strickland's suspension and

1) Ibid. p. 161; see also his speech (ibid p. 177) on the same subject. He argued: "that there should be no human positive law to enforce Conscience, which is not discernable in this World".

2) Ibid. p. 166.

3) Ibid. p. 167.

Yelverton's remark that the Prince's prerogative should be within "reasonable limits".

Strickland returned to the House on April 20th and moved that a confession of faith be drawn up with the authority of parliament. This was done, along the lines of 1562, but the thirty-nine articles omitted that one which dealt with the consecration of bishops. When the two Houses conferred, Parker asked the reason and Peter Wentworth replied that it was because they had not yet made up their minds if it was agreeable to the word of God. "But surely," said Parker, "in these things you will refer yourselves wholly to us, the bishops"; Wentworth replied that "they meant to pass nothing that they did not understand, for that would be to make the Bishops into Popes....." Next, in April, parliament proceeded with four Bills which they had begun in January 1567, before they were dissolved. The Bills concerned: Ordering of ministers, residence of pastors, avoidance of corrupt presentations, pensions out of Benefices, and a new one concerning the Commutation of penance by the Ecclesiastical judge. On Thursday, May 1st, the Queen sent a message via the Lords that "she would not suffer these things to be ordered by parliament", but the latter persisted,

passing the first two on Wednesday the 16th, and the last one on the 17th, so that Elizabeth promptly dissolved them.¹

Now, therefore, the implicit denial of royal supremacy, there from the first, had become explicit. Ponet, Sampson and the imprisoned ministers before them, had only attacked it indirectly by seeking parliamentary support for a hearing of their case. But at Frankfurt it had been discovered, by an accident, that the church could, and therefore should, since it was more natural, choose its own minister. The popularity of this theory amongst certain puritans seems to be entirely due to Cartwright. Its unpopularity with the old leaders was immediately apparent, because Jewell, Horne, Cox and others defended the establishment attacked in parliament at Pauls Cross; whilst the canons adopted in Convocation provided for the review of all preaching licenses once more.² At the close of Convocation, those who were considered the puritan leaders - Sampson, Goodman, Lever, Wiborne, Dering, Whittingham, Field, Johnson, Walker and Gough were interviewed and asked to sign their acceptance to

1) Ibid. pp. 151 and 185.

2) Strype, Parker II 73.

the Thirty-nine articles and to the Book of Prayer and the surplice. Wilcox occupied himself in circulating replies to the Episcopal sermons. Now at last the Calvinist ideal of the commonwealth had appeared.

A few years later - in 1574 - was published "The Troubles of Frankfurt", which purposed to shew that this quarrel was nothing new. The author at last breaks silence, after twenty years, because the Episcopalians are attacking the Puritans and blaming them for the present dissensions. He therefore wishes to "let you see the very Original and Beginning of all this miserable Contention", which was surely a continuation of the troubles between conformist and nonconformist in exile at Frankfurt.

But the odd thing about this is that the mine seems to have been touched off by a man who had never been a Marian exile, being content to remain at Cambridge whilst the Master of his college, Lever, fled, and who had been chaplain to the Bishop of Armagh during the Vestiarian controversy, and therefore unconnected with this quarrel. The answer seems to lie in three parts. Firstly, any minister, previously, when pressed, and given the choice of deprivation or wearing the surplice,

chose the latter,¹ but Cartwright was willing to take the consequences, not only of loss of living, but also of disapproval of those who had once been the old leaders, amongst whom were Cecil and Grindal.² Secondly, he was a man of vast personality who quickly became immensely popular both at Cambridge and in Geneva.³ But most important of all, Cartwright, and later Travers, both had in mind the transformation of the church of England into something like that of Scotland, that is to say, a church that aimed at being Free, National and Presbyterian. The times demanded all these things; along their road, the Puritans had no stopping place, as Mr. J. W. Allen has pointed out.⁴ The constant failure had exasperated them; and a more extensive organisation was required:

"Indeed, as you said even now, for preaching and ministering the Sacraments, so long as we might have the word freely preached and the Sacraments administered without the preferring of idolatrous gear about it, we never assembled together in houses. But when it came to this point, that all our preachers were displaced by your law, that would not subscribe to your apparel and your law, so that we could not hear none of them in any church for the space of seven or eight weeks, except Father Coverdale.....then we be-thought us what best to do, and we remembered

- 1) J.W.Allen, Political thought in the 16th Century, p.214.
- 2) Grindal Remains p.343 Cal.S.P.Dom.1547-80 Eliz.LXXI no.40
- 3) Dr. A.F.Scott-Pearson, Thomas Cartwright and Eliz. Puritanism, pp. 29 and 42-50.
- 4) J.W.Allen, Political thought in the 16th Century, p.214.

that there was a congregation of us in this city in Queen Mary's days; and a Congregation at Geneva, which used a book and order of discipline, most agreeable to the word of God.....which Book and order we now hold".¹

The word of God, as Cartwright had shewn at Cambridge,² did not uphold Episcopacy. Neither did the Bishops themselves pretend that it did; as we have seen, Parker himself offered to leave the standing or falling of the bishops to Cecil and Elizabeth.³ They were merely ecclesiastical agents in executive posts and if they interfered with the church's well-being they must go, as those elders had gone at Frankfurt who had indulged in pecculation.

This alone was what the old leaders like Cox, and Jewell objected to; they had no quarrel with the accompanying prophesyings and classes. Dr. Scambler instituted prophesyings at Northampton, at which Calvin's catechism was taught to the children and at which any discord amongst the congregation was to be examined by "the mayor and his brethren, being assisted by the preacher and other gentlemen".⁴ Parkhurst, Bishop of

1) The examination of Smith by the Bishop, after found in Plummers Hall, June 20th 1567, Parker Soc. Grindal Remains, p. 203.

2) Parker Soc. Whitgift's Works I pp. 296-7, 300.

3) cf. Parker to Burghley June 4th 1563, Lans. ms. VI f.52.

4) Strype, Annals II i pp. 90-91 (1725 ed.).

Norwich, defended them when requested to have them stopped, and petitioned some of the council about the matter, who rescinded the Archbishop's order.¹ This letter was signed by Grindal, Knollys, Sir Thomas Smith and Walter Mildmay.² But the first of these was only encouraged in so far as it was under the bishop's control. "So by the bishop's authority and the Mayor's joined together, being assisted with certain other gentlemen in the commission of the peace, evil life is corrected, God's glory set forth, and the people brought in good obedience".³ One can hardly imagine a better epitome of Tudor centralisation and control over local government than to see the mayor, the Justices of the Peace and the bishop all sitting together to control the neighbourhood.⁴

l) 1) It is interesting to note that this year there were 4,000 Dutch and Walloon residents in Norwich - i.e. about 1/125 of the total population of England and mostly Calvinistically inclined - Moens "Walloon Church at Norwich" I pp.10,11, and II p.220 et seq. Burghley wrote personally to Parkhurst over the question of Edmund Lawrences' (an exile) sequestration. (Orig. letter, Parkhurst to Calthorpe, March 1579, Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 30 f.147 and Ibid. f. 148 Calthorpe to Burghley, April 1580.)

2) Strype, Parker II p. 361.

3) Strype, Annals II i p. 92 (1725 ed.).

4) And, if Grindal's letter to Elizabeth written after 1576 may be taken at its full value, praying together too. "The conclusion is with a praier for your matie and all estates as is appointed by the booke of Common Praier....." (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 45.5.4, in section 2, folio unnumbered.)

In fact, the more the situation is considered, the more one is led to realise that, through the printing of the Admonition to Parliament by Field and Wilcox, the plan went off at half-cock. It was undoubtedly their work, and seems to have been printed before their leaders had had time to approve or disapprove of its contents. It was only then that they discovered that they had started a hare which they were unable to kill. It seems that they wrote the Admonition without pausing to consider its full consequences, and were forced to vindicate themselves; and that from prison:

"We have used gentle words too long, and we perceive they have done no good.....But God knows we meant to touch no man's person, but their places and abuses, which derogate from the truth as that any minister should take upon him the name of Archbishop and be called metropolitan".¹

It is possible, as Allen² and Knappen³ have suggested, that had the bishops been called by another name, and had Grindal's scheme for an educated clergy gone through, the trouble might have petered out; but one doubts it. There were too many presbyterians who were already on

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- 1) Second Parte of a Register I 89-90.
 - 2) J. W. Allen - Political thought in the 16th Century, p. 177. He adds: "on the other hand, such a startling change of names would have antagonised a much larger number of people".
 - 3) Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, p. 252.

the fringe of separatism - vide Crane below; there were too many considerations which prevented the Queen from ever being likely to consider such a step.¹ In 1584, when the Commons petitioned for certain alterations in religion, and in particular for a learned ministry, it was replied:

".....but yet care is to be taken yt p'ishes (i.e. parishes) be not lefte wholye destitute of curats, for better it is to have one but meanelye lerned, then none at all as it must of necessitie come to passe in thowsands of p'ishes, if these petitions shuld be graunted..... Innovations are scandalous and dangerouse. And this church being so trobled wth sects and schismes as it is, can not admit this platforme, wthout yt great increase therof."²

And so, after Field and Wilcox had endeavoured to justify themselves by a confession of faith issued from prison, and some others - possibly Gilby and Goodman³ - had done the same by a second Admonition which purposed to shew how the reformation, so strongly urged by the First Admonition, was to be carried out, Cartwright was driven to defend the cause which he led from attacks

1) But, see John Hunt, Religious thought in England, vol. I p. 42, and Dasent vol. VIII Preface p. XXI, and Heylyn Aerius Redivivus London 1670 p. 259-62. The actions of the Puritans caused defection not only amongst the reformers in England but also made the Catholics unquiet.

2) St. Pauls Cath. Lib. Ms. XI 8 and 13 "Answer to the petition of the Nether House".

3) Dr. Scott-Pearson, T. Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, p. 74.

upon pamphlets of which he did not approve. It is true that he was not in favour of Episcopacy as it then stood; he held that the only allowable bishops were Presbyters and that they were all equal. But he did not maintain that no ceremony nor order may be in the church unless the same is expressed in the Scriptures. Whitgift in his reply to this said "Hold you here and we shall soon agree".¹ His whole object seems to have been to make the arguments in the two Admonitions appear more reasonable and justifiable than they had so far appeared.

Cartwright's connections in this affair throw some interesting light upon the activities of certain exiles now returned home. They also explained how Bancroft² came to suspect Gilby, Sampson and Lever as being the partners of Field and Wilcox. In 1550, Cartwright became a member of St. John's College, Cambridge³ - the very centre of reform, whose master in 1551 was Lever -. Here he must have become known to very many of the future exiles, whom he did not accompany abroad. When he did flee, however, it was Lever and Foxe and Wiborne, the

1) Parker Soc. Works of Whitgift I p. 194-5.

2) Survey p. 42.

3) Scott-Pearson, Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, p. 51.

latter also a St. John's man, who wrote, together with Dering and others, asking him to return.¹ He had, it seems, kept in touch with his English friends whilst he was in Geneva; Walsingham himself, being an active supporter of the Reformation, kept in contact with him at this time as may be seen from his diary of July 1571. "Tewsday.3. went from Poissy to Paris to bed. Lettres receaved from Geneva from Mr Portus, Mr Cartwright".² Now it is uncertain at what date - but it must have been about 1570 - that Laurence Tomson became private secretary to Walsingham. He was certainly a man of influence in politics by 1572,³ but he was not, as Miss Garrett suggests, the exile at Frankfurt, "who had translated the New Testament with Beza's notes from the french".⁴ Miss Garrett's man, Edmund, was certainly an exile,⁵ but it was Laurence who translated the Testament, and in the 1599 edition and onwards there appears in the title an addition: "An epistle to the right worshipfull M. Francis Hastings".⁶ Laurence Tomson was born

1) Ibid. p. 50.

2) Camden Misc. vol. VI Walsingham's Diary July 3rd 1571.

3) Scott-Pearson op.cit. p. 69 and note. Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz 1569-71 nos. 1591 and 2037.

4) Marian Exiles, pp. 304, 305.

5) And also incidentally Edmund Thomson was a separatist (Strype Annals IV p. 129).

6) Quoted by Scott-Pearson op.cit. pp. 70,71, from J. R. Dore "Old Bibles" 1888 p. 227, 230.

in Northamptonshire¹, the county of the Hastings and of Leicester, both most ardent Puritan supporters.

Ashby de la Zouche where the violent Gilby found refuge, was the seat of the Hastings family.² This family contained the Earl of Huntingdon, whose wife was a Dudley, and four brothers all of whom took a lively interest in the life of their country and all of whom were puritans. One or other of the family, or their nominee, usually represented the Borough of Leicester in parliament, although in 1571 it was represented by Stephen Hales, citizen and merchant-tailor of London, and brother of John Hales, the exile, who for supporting Lady Catherine Grey's title to the throne, and for justifying her secret marriage to Lord Hertford had been sent to the Tower in 1564. This district was indeed a hot-bed of puritanism.³ Under the Hastings' patronage, a civic lectureship was founded in Leicester. These lectures were delivered twice a week, and attendance was made

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1) Ibid. p. 69.

2) Froude, English Seamen in the 16th Century, 1893 p.120 from Parson's "Brief note on the present condition of England", 1585. Dr. Scott-Pearson op.cit. p. 279-80, wonders if Gilby had a hand in the Martin Marprelate controversy. He was an intimate friend of Mrs. Crane, who harboured the press for a time.

3) J. E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons, pp. 39, 40, 227; and Garrett op.cit. 173.

compulsory by the corporation officials. Amongst the list of these preachers are to be found the names of: Sampson, Gilby, Kynge, Crane, Whittingham, Lever and others.¹ We know that Tomson was in touch with Gilby, for he wrote to him, on November 21st 1572 saying that the second Admonition had been issued. Hastings brought him a copy of it to read.² He must therefore have been in contact, either with Field and Wilcox, the authors of the first Admonition, or with some one closely connected with them. Field, a little later, knew that there was a reply coming out to Whitgift's "Answer", for he wrote to Gilby from Newgate "We hope that Doctor Whitgift's Book will shortly be answered".³ Field, therefore, must have been in touch with those who knew that Cartwright was producing his "Reply". In view of this and similar correspondence, and the fact that Sampson was living nearby at Wigston Hospital at this time, it is not surprising that Bancroft suspected his complicity in this matter. His past history would appear to strengthen this belief; and so would

1) Mary Bateson, Records of the Borough of Leicester III p. 120, 1566-7, p. 133, 1570-71.

2) Ibid. p. 69.

3) T. Baker, History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Camb. ed. Mayor, 2 vols. 1869, Baker mss. XXXII i 43 and 444, quoted ibid. p. 83.

the suspicion of the authorities that the secret puritan press was situated in Northamptonshire. On March 31st 1573, the Privy Council sent a letter¹ to Sir John Spencer and Sir Robert Lane, Knightes, to make inquirye for a book likely to be printed in the countie of Northampton, an answer against Whitgifte's book....."¹ Wilcox was similarly in correspondence with Gilby,² whilst Lever, Gilby, Sampson and these two correspondents of Gilby all assembled in London, upon Cartwright's return from Geneva in 1572; so that the authorities' suspicions seem reasonable.

But it is only an historical student, from a distance, who can see where they made their mistake. It was commonly supposed that the Wandsworth Presbytery was, as its name implies, something very similar to the system of organised Classes which sprang up a few years later - that is to say something after the style of a present day Kirk Session. Dr. Scott-Pearson, however, has proved conclusively that this was far from the case,³ and suggests that it was a direct descendant of the Plummers Hall gathering; Crane, having been prohibited by Grindal from preaching in London, crossed the river

1) Dasent VIII p. 93.

2) Parker Soc. Zurich Letters I p. 313 note 4.

3) Scott-Pearson, T. Cartwright and Eliz. Puritanism pp. 76-8, 80.

to Wandsworth and being followed by many of his friends who wished to hear him preach, continued to use the Genevan Order Book. That means, therefore, that this movement contained both Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Crane's history alone proves this, for a little later he is concerned with Cartwright's presbyterian schemes, and later still he was arrested in Henry Martin's house in October 1587 at a Brownist meeting. Now just in the same way as it was possible for the Wandsworth congregation to contain a medley of opinions, and for Crane to change from congregationalism to presbyterianism and back again, so was it possible for others who were connected with the Admonition controversy to be in similar positions.¹ Cartwright's tragedy lies in the fact that he attracted to himself such violent men as Field, Wilcox and Crane, whom he was forced to defend from authority, and who, in return, alienated old leaders of revolt like Sampson and Humphrey, and divided the older, less uncompromising nonconformists from the militant side of protestantism altogether. Even John Knox

1) Thus Sampson lived peacefully at a Hospital in Leicester still, Lever at one in Durham. Several years after, Burghley says he is sure Sampson will conform, when recommending him to the Mastership of the Temple. W. A. Shaw in E.H.R. III 1888 p. 657-8.

wrote to the prisoners taken in Plummers Hall, in answer to a petition which they had sent into Scotland saying:

"Our brethren do give hearty thanks for your gentle letter written unto them; but to be plain with you, it is not in all points liked".¹

This, no doubt, because a discipline in Scotland had been found as necessary as it was in England, although that of Geneva, however popular it might be in certain quarters North of the Border, was not something which the Elizabethan settlement could permit. Thus, in 1562, when an attempt had been made to use the Geneva service Book at Bethersden in Kent, the incumbent, John Robson, protested that:

"Yt was not lawfull for us to use the service used at Geneva. Further he sayd: We ought noo more to follow yn Geneva church than the Romyshe church and the Quene maye bringe in the Ceremonys used in Moys (i.e. Moses) Lawe and maye abolyshe them at her pleasure".²

This contained the apotheosis of the religious settlement at that time, for the Elizabethan church was never intended to be a blend of Rome and Geneva. It

1) Quoted by D. E. Nelson, Ph.D. Thesis 1939, New College, Edinburgh, Life and Works of Henry Smith, p. 47 and reference.

2) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. X.1.2. f. 34, Archdeacon's Visitation, deaneries of Westbury, Charing and Canterbury, comperta, 1560-81.

was an attempt to conserve individual liberty from the oligarchy at Rome and yet at the same time it was endeavoured to preserve the corporal st life of the church from the individualism of Protestant and Sectary alike. A few years later Richard Hooker took up his pen for that very purpose and shewed how the Supremacy in England was justifiable by proving the identity of church and state.

But the extremists either could not, or would not see this, so that between 1570 and 1590 the records in the Archbishop's diocese are full of those ministers who will not use the cross in baptism, wear the surplice, or perform the required perambulations. Yet, from the brief entries in the ecclesiastical court books extant it seems that the penalties exacted were very slight indeed, whilst few were despatched by the Archdeacon upon his Visitation to the High Commissioners for sentence. Thus, in 1565, Anthony Cariat, a Marian exile at Geneva, was presented because "he hath sayed servyce wthout surplesse, and that he hath mynistred the coion (i.e. Communion) in loofe breade", whereupon he was ordered to appear before the court again at Bekesbourne.¹ What

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.6. Archdeacon's court comperta. folios unnumbered. May 23rd 1565.

happened to him there, if anything, is not known, but in April 1569 he was still in the same living and on this occasion was presented for refusing to bury the dead, and for performing the marriage service without his surplice. He refused to answer the charges at that time, and no effort appears to have been made to force him to do so, so that on December 1st 1569 his case was referred to the Bishop Suffragan of Dover, where again the result of the proceedings has been lost.¹ It is likely, however, that his sentence would have been light, since the bishop was Richard Rogers, once an exile in Frankfurt. It is difficult to understand why an incumbent in a parish near Maidstone should be despatched for satisfaction to the Bishop of Dover, unless it was that the authorities hoped that Rogers might talk some sense into the heretical minister and thus render unnecessary any more drastic proceedings in the Court of High Commission. For it is evident that it was not their policy to persecute for nonconformity when it could be avoided, so that Michael Cooke, minister of "Fredwiche", in the deanery of Canterbury and possibly he who was in Geneva in 1555, was cited upon December

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.9. Archdeacon's court Acta and Comperta. April 29th, Lenham parish, folios unnumbered.

2nd 1583 for not wearing the surplice, but did not appear. He was summoned again on December 16th, January 27th, February 10th, 23rd, March 9th, 23rd, April 6th and finally on April 27th when he appeared for the first time before the Archdeacon's court, he was merely told to wear it "sub poena iuris", and then his case was dismissed.¹ Such treatment cannot be called severe when it is recollected that non-appearance upon a proctor's summons ranked as contumacy and as such carried deprivation as its severest penalty; whilst the case is similar to many which were dealt with by the archdeacon and not referred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Such treatment does not mean, however, that protestants were receiving preferential treatment over the Catholics, for they too were only prosecuted upon presentation for extreme crimes. Thus one of the Catholics, sent before the High Commission was so treated, not because he refused to go to church like so many others on whom no penalties were imposed, but rather because in November 1581 it was remarked that he came "from beyond the seas".²

It is interesting to discover that it was not always

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.2. f.151r, Archdeacon Visitation Comperta. He had been appointed to Fordwich on July 18th 1580. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Grindal Reg. f. 230v.)

2) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.15 f. 80v. Archdeacon Visitation, Comperta.

the Catholic gentry, however, who stayed away from church because the service proved to be to their dissatisfaction. During the course of the Archbishop's Metropolitan visitation in 1569, it was presented of a former exile at Geneva during Mary's reign, Richard Chrispe, that "..... Richard Crispe gent hys wyfe and familie dothe not com to ther parishe churche but a principall feastes, for that his house is so farre distante frome the said churche and were so lycensed by Mr Collyns whan he was Comissarye".¹

But in the majority of cases, the Marian exile did not go along with these fanatics any more than they had wished to be associated with Knox and Goodman upon their immediate return twenty years earlier, and therefore many of the Elizabethan Bishops recruited from the exiles' ranks became objects of detestation to the puritans. The feeling of the episcopacy may be judged by two letters written at this time from Sandys to Bullinger and from Cox to Gualter. Sandys wrote in August 1573:

"Oriuntur ex nobis novi oratores (stulti?) adolescentes, qui cum autoritate contemnunt nec superiores patiuntur. Totum ecclesiae nostrae statum pie constitutum et summum optimorum consensum confirmatum et stabilitum funditus sublatum

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. z.3.10 part I. Archdeacon Visitation comperta and detecta. f. 3v.

ac eradicatum esse volunt et nescio quam novam ecclesiae formam nobis fabricare contendunt".

After this derogatory description, he quotes a few lines of their tenets and adds:

"Multa sunt alia eiusdem generis, non minus absurda, quae non comemorabo. Quae omnia si quid ego iudico, non faciunt ad bonum et pacem ecclesiae sed ad ruinam et confusionem".¹

For his part in this affair, the puritan Robert Johnstone, later to obtain notoriety as a member of the Classical movement called Sandys "superintendent of popysh corruption in the diocese of London"²; meaning that, as Bishop of London, he had taken the side of authority.

Cox, Bishop of Ely, was no less severe in his criticism when he wrote to Gualtier on June 12th 1573:

"Didicisses praeterea ex illis meis literis quantas turbas excitarint in ecclesia nostra non male constituta, homines factiosi et capitosi qui scriptis et concionibus atque privatis colloquiis universam ecclesiae nostrae oeconomiam refutant et convellunt. Episcoposque omnes et ceteros verbi ministros apud plebem et apud magistratus et nobiles en odium vocant incredibile.....sed sanctissimam nostram Reginam et ex summis magistratibus aliquot ea imbuit Dominus Deus noster prudentia et pietate; ut frustra homines illi

1) St. Pauls Cath. Lib. ms. I, letter 89 orig. Sandys to Bullinger, August 12th 1573. This closely resembles Cox's letter to Gualter February 4th 1572/3, Zurich Letters 1 p279
2) Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow ms. 45.2.2. no. 9, f. 70, Extract from Parte of a Register, Johnstone to Sandys, February 1573/4.

contendant....."¹

In this he was correct, for the Council had been able to write to the Bishop of London in 1573 "that their Lordships were glad of the reformation of one Field and Wilcox", and they suggested that "his lordship might consign them to Mr. Archdeacon Molins or some other to remain privately till upon further trial and relation of his lordship they might have more occasion to procure her Maties pardon".² Mullins himself had been abroad in Zurich and Frankfurt in Mary's reign, but he too, like the majority, had come home to conform. Also, a little later, Sandys had been able to write to Bullinger once more concerning this matter that:

"They are young men who disseminate these opinions, and they have their supporters, especially from those who are hoping for ecclesiastical property; but yet I am glad to say, that Humphrey and Sampson, and some others, who heretofore moved the question about ceremonies, are entirely opposed to this party".³

Laurence Humphrey's change of heart was one which

1) St. Pauls Cath. Lib. ms. I letter 67 from Cox to Gualter. This letter, curiously enough, is an exact copy of that which is in the Archives at Zurich. See Parker Soc. Zurich Letters I p.282 letter no.CVIII. It is worth remarking that all those at Zurich are in the orig. manuscript of their authors, except for Cox, Bedford and Norfolk, which are only signed. This therefore would seem yet another contemporary copy.

2) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms.982 f.142 from Council Book Eliz.

3) Parker Soc. Zurich Letters I p. 292 July 1573.

seems to have come gradually upon him as evidently the most sensible course. For some years earlier he had written to the Bishop from Cambridge that:

".....we are now no more counted Brethren and Friends, but enemies. And syth the old masse Attysers be streightly commanded, the masse it self is shortly looked for.....why doe you trust knowne adversaries and mistrust your Brethren?shall we be used thus for a serplesse? Shall Brethren persecute Brethren for a forked Capp, devysed of singularitie, by him wch is our forigne enemy?"¹

Obviously such strife over small details was not warranted in his opinion and he therefore conformed. Even Cartwright himself wrote to Robert Browne the separatist in 1580 saying:

"It is another peece of the discipline of the Lord that the rest of the body of the church should obey those that are set over them in the Lorde; wheresoever there is no obedience of the people given to the ministers, that in the Lordes name preach unto them, there also can be no church of christ.....yea although there be some defects".²

Sandys was right, therefore, when he spoke of the scheme dwindling, and it is doubtful whether the nobility had ever backed the movement, save to suit their own purposes. The greatest of these nobles was Leicester, whose fears of the Queen's marriage to the catholic

1) Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 7033 f. 351r. Copy of Letter to the Bishops.

2) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 45.5.4 art. no.2, folios unnumbered. Copy Cartwright to Brown, 1580.

archduke Charles which had led him to make advances to the puritans were now passed, whilst his period of dabbling in the Low Countries, where he was accused of trying to become a prince of the protestant provinces, had not yet arrived. This species of independent intrusion into secular politics was a crime which Elizabeth seldom found possible to overlook even in a courtier, whilst in a cleric it was considered unpardonable, as we have seen in the drastic punishment set upon John Hales and Thomas Dannett in 1564.

Consequently when John Stubbes, who may be he who had spent certain years in exile at Geneva during Mary's reign, had the temerity to publish his opinions against Elizabeth's intended marriage with Anjou in 1579, he promptly lost his right hand. Further, the Council wrote to Bishop Aylmer, a Marian exile and now Bishop of London in succession to Sandys, informing him that Stubbes' pamphlet, a "Discoverie of a gaping Gulf", was believed to have been published in London:

".....by the reading whereof her Maties good subiects expecially those of the Clergie may perhappes by over lighte credite uppon vayne suspicions and presumpcions be induced to ~~think~~ and speke otherwyse of her Maiesties doynge then eyther they have cause to do or it becometh dutifull and obedyent subiectes."

Therefore a proclamation had been issued:

"Whereof her maiesties pleasure is that wth as much speede as you conveniently may you should assemble the speciall noted prechers and other Eccliasticall persons of good calling within yor diocess and uppon the readinge of the sayde proclamacion to Signifie unto them her highnes constante and firme determynacion to Maynetayne the state of religion wthout any alteration or change in suche sorte as hitherto she hath done.....you shall also admonysh them to conteyne them selves wthin the lymites and boundes of their callinge wch is to preache the Gospell of Christ in all purytie and singlenes wthout entanglinge and confounding themselves in secular matters wherewth they oughte to have nothing to do at all....."¹

This Aylmer no doubt did immediately, for even in his days of exile when he had answered Knox's "A Harborowe for faithfull and Trewe subjects", he had been an opponent of those who attacked the royal supremacy. Consequently he received a promise, a few years later, from Martin Marprelate, that he would spare time to deal with him ere he had done.²

But these separatists were by now deserted not only by the nobility and by the old reformers but even by the printers, so that it is surprising to see that Stubbes' pamphlet had been printed in London by Hugh Singleton, once an exile. Most of the puritans' work was done in

1) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Grindal Reg. ff. 183v and 184 October 5th 1579.

2) Nat. Lib. Scot. Pamphlet 1/547. Ms. copy of a Marprelate Tract.

the Netherlands now that Philip of Spain had lost control there, and in 1580 the London Clergy especially complained, in their address to the Convocation in April, of those who go over to Flanders and bring back heretical doctrines so that "it is generally known throughout the whole Citie that no one Parish or Parson can agree together".¹ It is perhaps a help in the assessment of the worth and character of some of these printers to discover that Asplyn, one of Cartwright's printers, and therefore one among the ranks of the new disseminators of protestant literature, had attempted in 1573 to assassinate John Day, one of the first printers of protestant work in Tudor times.²

Cartwright and Travers, in an endeavour to achieve unity, however, set themselves to make one more bid for success, and thus began to organise the system of Classes and prophesyings against which Whitgift strove so sternly. Not only was it to be nation-wide, but also, it seems, the support of those in Scotland was sought once more as it had been in 1568 by the congregation of Plummers Hall. For there is extant a most interesting letter from John Davidson, probably the cousin of he who was

1) J. Collier, Ecclesiastical History II App. p. 97 (1714 ed. London).

2) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. Cat. XVII art. 56.

once an exile in Geneva with his countryman John Knox, and now minister at Liberton, Edinburgh, and later at Saltpreston, written to Field in London, dated January 1582/3.¹

The connection between the cousins is interesting as affording an excellent example of the prominent place that the accident of relationship played in forming the patterns of action undertaken by the Marian exiles. Quite a number of marriages resulted from the friendships formed abroad, whilst the friendships themselves appear in several cases to have conditioned the point of view which some returned exiles adopted upon repatriation. Sometimes the common fellowship of exile was sufficient to create a loyal following in England for the higher ranking ecclesiastics, as in the case of John Bale. He returned to receive a prebendal stall at Christ Church Canterbury, and his presence in the district appears to have been sufficient for Robert Pownall, a poor clerk of the city of Canterbury, and once an exile in France and Switzerland, immediately to have adopted him as his leader. Bale died some time in 1563, his will being proved in the Consistory Court at Canterbury on January

1) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 6.1.13 f.42 Orig. Letter.

21st 1563/4.¹ Pownall, dying seven years later in August 1571,² left behind a long rambling impractical will full of theology, in which he requests: "to be reverently buried in the boddye of Christes church by Mr Bale". He also bequeathed his worsted cassock to "Mr Turpin minister of Dover". This latter bequest was more understandable, for both Pownall and Turpin had been together in exile at Aarau and also possibly at Wesel, but Bale had never, so far as it is known, either met or corresponded with Pownall until they both returned to settle in Canterbury. Turpin, it is interesting to recall, died intestate and the administration of his goods was undertaken in March 1575/6 by two friends, one of whom being Thomas Allen, here described as a merchant, who was a native of Canterbury and once an exile in Aarau like Turpin.³ There has

1) Kent Co. Record Office ms. C. Act 6 f. 1.

2) Kent Co. Record Office ms. C. 31 ff. 286r-288v, Consistory Act Bk. This fact, incidentally, precludes Strype's identification of Pownall with Robert Pownde mentioned by Miss Garrett (op.cit. p. 259), for he did not die until 1581, whilst there is no doubt, from the style and contents of the will, that this is the exile.

3) Kent County Record Office, ms. C Act 7 f. 129v. Edmund Cranmer, brother of the Archbishop, was also in Canterbury with his family at this time, for upon his return he became Registrar of the Archdeaconry, whilst on April 29th 1571 his son Thomas was christened in the city. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.15, folios unnumbered.)

been no opportunity to scan the friendships in other districts so thoroughly as in that of Canterbury, but, from certain threads found here and there in these researches, there is no doubt that similar intercourse was just as common elsewhere in England or in Scotland upon the return from exile.

It is this friendship which no doubt caused the correspondence between London and Edinburgh in 1583. The facts are these: In 1582 John Davidson had himself been in London, and in the following year he wrote to Field thanking him for his letter of the previous July and begging him to have "my hartie commendationes remembered to the brethren thare and especiallie to goode Mr. Stubbes, Mr. Cherk and to him whose commendationes caried be me to yow made or. fyrst acquaintance togyther with Mr. Brownes half brother Mr. Sacfield not forgetting my wyves commendationes to yow and yor bedfellow".¹

Who it was that had performed this introduction of Davidson to such a radical group in London it is impossible to say. One would be tempted to think that it might have been the John Davidson who passed his

1) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 6.1.13 f. 42 orig. letter, Jan. 1st 1582/3.

exile in Geneva,¹ were it not for the fact that, whilst the minister of Liberton is careful not to mention his sponsor by name as we have seen above, he yet adds elsewhere in the post-script:

"I pray you also salute my cousine Davidsons in Great Woodstreit and his Wyfe in my name".

At any rate, the returned exile had become a prominent puritan by 1577 when his name was mentioned as a possible successor to Cartwright as Minister to the English Merchants in Antwerp, whilst in 1579 he had been dealt with by the Privy Council for uttering "certen lewde and disordered speches to her majesties discontentacion", who ordered the Dean of Windsor to examine him.²

There can be little doubt, however, that the Scottish minister when he returned to Edinburgh, had become full of enthusiasm for the more drastic cadres of separatism loose in England at that time, so that he determined to petition the Assembly which was to

1) Cf. C. H. Garrett, op.cit. p. 141 who suggests this. Charke was a friend of Cartwright and in 1577 had been offered the post as minister to the English Merchants at Antwerp. John Davidson the exile's name had also been mentioned, should Charke refuse, by Lawrence Thomson, Walsingham's puritan Secretary whose advice upon the question had been sought. Stubbes was Cartwright's brother-in-law. (See Chap.IV, p.200)

2) Dasent XI p. 289, Queen to Sir H. Nevill.

meet in April 1583 for assistance in that matter. His letter to Field begins:

"Grace mercie and peace.

"I thank yow beloved brother for yor gentill remembrance of me wt yor letter daited the 22 of Juli last, wche as it was moist acceptable unto me so was it comfortable to the brethren of the ministrie in these quarters who at that tyme wer heavilie trubbled be those adversaries whome the myghtie hand of or god hath now myghtelie beaten down. God grant that we never forget so myghtie and mervales deliverance. On the morrow efter I resaved yor letter I resaved an other frome the (Rothell?) tending to the same end to wit lame(n)ting or trublous state and tharewtall (therewithal) conforting us in or god. It is no small confort brother (as ye and I have diverse tymes spoken in conference) to brethren of one natione to understand the state of the brethren in other nationes and therefore let us practise it as accasione will serve. For my part I sall not be unmyndfull when I may have (meit berars?). Thair is a motione brother in the heads of some brethre(n) heir wherein yor advyce wold do goode as we think, to wit that a generall sute be made be or generall assemblie nixt (wche wilbe the 24 of Aprile nixt be Gods Grace) to the Kings g(grace), and hole state, that a reqwest frome thame and the hole generall assemblie be directed to the Quenes maiestie wt hir state and yor churchie towching the Reformatioun of some abuses in yor churchie and especiallie that sincere men may have libertie to preache wtowt (without) deposing be the tyranies of the bishoppes. This I thoght goode onelie to move unto yow rudelie for the present to the end yo advyce yr. brethren thare (.) yor further informatioun in this case may direct us forder, if it shall be thoght expedient. God grant us the spirit of faytfulnes and wisdom for the using of all lawfull meanes for the advanceing of Gods glorie and proffeit of his churchie. Goode Mr. Bowes doeth goode service heir for the wellfare of the churchie of

God boyt thare and heir, in that he travaleth
faytfullie and most dilige(nt)lie to keip these
two countreis knit in amitie and trew friend-
ship, for no goode ma(n) can be ignorant how
muche or concorde and unitie helpeth the goode
caws of Christ wche is not alytill (a little)
Invyed be Satan and his instrume(n)ts. The
spirit of or lord Jesus Christ remayne wt yow
allwayes brother to the end and in the end Amen.
Now my hartie come(n)dationes reme(m)bred to
the brethren thare and especiallie to goode Mr.
Stubbs Mr. Charke and to him whose comendationes
caried be me to yow made or fyrst acque(n)tance
togyther wt Mr. Brownes half brother Mr. Sacfield,
not forgetting my wyves comendations to yow and
yor bedfellow I tak my leve of yow frome Edinburgh
the first day of Januar 1582.

"Yor assured friend to my powar

Mr. Johne Davidson".¹

This promise of backing by those in Scotland naturally
delighted the radicals in England, and, from the several
endorsements upon the back and bottom of the letter, it
seems that it had been circulated amongst one or two of
the Classes in England.

Thus at the bottom of the letter is inscribed in
a different hand to that which wrote the original:

"Concerning this be answer in generall
hearing yt the brethren shall think themselves
beholdinge to them if they shalbe so careful".

This is the first endorsement, and may be in Field's
own hand, who, from the second endorsement, must have
despatched the letter elsewhere for in yet another hand

1) Nat.Lib.Scot.ms.6.1.13.f.42. See also Chapter IV p.205
for a further discussion of this letter.

is written:

"Davison to Field whether the synode might tak order for the K. moving her Matie for Reformation. It was liked by ye brethren here".

Not only, therefore, was the Classical movement to seek support in England, Antwerp and the Channel Islands, but the two neighbouring countries were to provide mutual support for one another:

"It is no small confort brother (as ye and I have diverse tymes spoken in conference) to brethren of one natione to understand the state of the brethren in other nationes and therefore let us practise it as occasione will serve....."

But this was as far as the scheme ever reached, for the Assembly were not as enthusiastic about it as Davidson zealously had led those in England to believe. It was merely suggested at that meeting in April that Elizabeth should be entreated to enter a league against their common enemies and that "her Majestie will disburden their breithier of England, of the yoke of ceremonies imposed to them against the libertie of the word".¹

The reason for this failure in Scotland was almost exactly that which hindered the reformation in England. James VI, having freed himself from the Ruthven conspirators, determined to weaken the too popular basis

1) Quoted by A. Peterkin, Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland, ed. 1839 p.271, record of the 48th General Assembly.

of the General Assembly, and thus render it more subordinate to his will. In 1584, when the Scottish Parliament assembled, the church was shorn, one by one, of the majority of its rights; whilst Adamson, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, gradually hedged Episcopacy round with all manner of royal protection so that it was once more declared to be the basis of the chief jurisdiction of the church. Indeed such was the state in Scotland that many ministers fled into England in that year, and among their number was John Davidson.

This change of fortune in the affairs of the Scottish Kirk, however, cannot be blamed entirely for the failure of this scheme. There is very little doubt that Field and others were altogether too impatient to receive a favourable reception in the eyes of the Assembly just as those of the Plummers Hall congregation had been fifteen years earlier.

And yet there were others more extreme, so that Robert Harrison, another of those who had spent some months at Geneva as a Marian exile, in his "Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any",¹ could write

1) Nat.Lib.Scot.Wodrow ms.45.5.4 f.1 of Art.2. Folios unnumbered. In this manuscript the authorship is ascribed to him, whilst Miss Garrett has shown (op.cit.p.179) that this separatist friend of John Browne may be the Richard Harrison who fled in 1556 to Geneva.

indignantly of those who wished to use constitutional means:

"They say the time is not yett come to buyld the Lordes house, they must tarye for the magistrates and for the Parliaments to do it. They want the civill sword forsooth".

But he had been only a youth, it seems, when he fled in Mary's reign, while the majority of his companions who had been older were now dead. And so it was not, as we have seen, the returned Marian exile who proved himself so intransigent under the Elizabethan Settlement, except in a few rare cases. For there is no doubt that the danger of schism had been recognised by the leaders ever since it was threatened first at Strasburg and then at Frankfurt and Geneva. The official plan, since the "Confession" issued from prison, had been to obtain a reformation by presenting an united front to all opposers and by seeking to advance by constitutional means. The last great efforts along this line had been made in 1572, with the Admonition to Parliament, and in 1585, when the puritans in parliament had endeavoured to discuss the revision of the Prayer Book. But Elizabeth would tolerate no new-fangledness, and so dissolved them, whilst those who were wisest accepted the situation as best they might. It could not be certain that some such action by the Crown as

had been taken in Scotland in 1583 and 1584, would not be the undoing of such reformation as they had already achieved, if the Queen were pressed too far. Whilst the unsettled question of succession, which was troubling the Privy Council right up to the end of the reign, by no means promised a Protestant Prince in Westminster for the future, and no man could tell, should Elizabeth succumb to any illness, how soon it might be necessary for a "true believer" to take flight once more to the continent.

Therefore, those extremists among the exiles ^{who} that figure in these pages are very much the exception who represent the sinister fringe that became sucked into the vortex of unplanned zealotism so abhorrent to their fellows and so out of keeping with the philosophy of the times in which they lived. Thus Sir Francis Knollys hastened to correct Robert Sharp, who, returning from Strasburg, had joined the family of Love, and begged Burghley to redress such "anabaptisticall sectaries who do serve the turn of the papists".¹ By this he no doubt meant that not only were the protestant ranks weakened by schism, but also that would-be

1) Cf. also Dasent X p.426, XI pp.74,77 (Conventicles in Gloucestershire) XI pp.138,444 (Family of Love, Suffolk and Exeter).

sympathisers were turned away from fear of another Munster episode.

But if the exiles were not violent men themselves, yet, whether they would or not, they shewed the way. It was Richard Sharpe, surely from his extremism a descendant of the exile, who, in January 1598 was examined before the Archdeacon's Court for that:

"He hath of late published and affirmed that the Book of Common prayer is heresy.....that Common Prayer is not needful in churches because it may be read at home".¹

The first of these dogma had been discussed at Frankfurt, whilst the second had been implied, if not only by the Catholics with their secret priests, at least by Richard Chrispe in Thanet.

Possibly it was as much what he had heard from his cousin, who had spent his exile at Geneva, as for any other reason that Henry Smith the "silver-tongued" puritan went to Geneva in 1581, in company with Anthony Bacon. At least Bacon wrote home, from Beza's house in July to a "Mr Smith", informing him how much assistance his son had rendered to him,² so that it would seem that he had but followed Wiborne's example of

1) From the Archdeacon's Visitation Canterbury 1598-9 f.127, quoted in Archeologia Cantiana vol. XXVI.

2) Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing ms. III 193 f.117.

travelling to the city to which nearly all protestant thought eventually turned at this time - an episode in Smith's career which has not hitherto been remarked -.

It was this continual reference to Geneva, in an endeavour to find some kind of legitimate protestant authority, by all shades of protestant opinion, that led Hooker to devote most of the preface of his "Ecclesiastical Polity", written three or four years before the turn of the century, to a confutation of Calvin. It was now that the Elizabethan compromise, supported by the Elizabethan bishops, who had been largely recruited from the ranks of the Marian exiles, began to prove itself a failure. For the foundation of that compromise had been a Tudor Prince, who had permitted no discussion which touched her prerogative. On the other hand, the puritans in their attempt to elevate the ministers and to create a distinct society in the church had automatically struck at these foundations of the supremacy. Just as long as there was a sovereign who could hold the delicate balance, so would the situation last. But even Elizabeth, towards the end, was forced to do what James VI had done, and bolster the supremacy with a stronger hierarchy of Bishops, thus adding further fuel to feed the fires of puritan exasperation which were to burst forth in the

first half of the century. It was the "tyrannies of the bishoppes", which had drawn Field in London to make overtures to Davidson in Scotland, and it was the Laudian Prayer Book and episcopacy which began Charles I's troubles in both countries and eventually united them for a few brief years of triumph. At present, the factions were divided sufficiently for even a catholic to feel that hopes of counter-reformation, planned as it was from Dumfries in Scotland to the Vatican itself, were not entirely without foundation. In 1594 Father Parsons could write:

"The puritan is more generally favoured throughout the realm.....then is the protestant, uppon a certaine general perswasion that his profession is more perfect, especially in great towns where preachers have made more impression in the artificers and burgesses than in the countrie people....."

But, he adds:

".....it is thought that the other two parties (i.e. the non-catholic protestant and puritan) either are or may be divided among themselves and each party alsoe within it selfe, soe different persons of thoes religious doe stand for it!"¹

They were indeed still divided amongst themselves, but in view of the division of the country during the Civil War, between Cavalier and Roundhead, Parson's

1) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 45.2.4 f.218 "A conference to the next succession to the Crown of England". 1594.

statement bears more significance than he himself could realise.

But the last word upon the dangers which were burgeoning beneath the feet of those who sat in authority ^{at} or the end of that exciting century was written by one who had been a Marian exile to another of his companions at that time.

"Touching the Writing I sent you yesterday, concerning the Superiority of Bishops, I must needs say unto you, that my Lord Archbishop and the rest take a dangerous course against her Majesty's Supreme Government, for they do claim a Superiority of Government to be knit to their Bishoprics jure divino directly. Although they do grant that all the superiority that they have as Bishops they do have the same by way of mediation of her Majesty..... Nevertheless if my Lord Treasurer would in her Majesties Name, demand of the said Bishops, whether they would callin any such superiority directly jure divino, to be due unto them to the Prejudice of her Majesty's Supreme Government, then I do verily think that they durst not stand to their claim'd Superiority, unless it would be upon hope that her Majesty would yield unto them their claim'd Superiority, to the Prejudice of her Supreme Government, and to the light regard of the opening of the high-way to Popery..."¹

1) Secretary Knollys to F. Walsingham, March 20th 1588, quoted from J. Collier, Ecclesiastical History II App. p.100 (1714 ed.).

C H A P T E R I I

THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE

1558 | On November 17th Queen Mary died, and on that same day the new Queen's Chaplain, Dr. Bill, preached a sermon at Pauls Cross; but this sermon gave no hint to those who listened which might aid them in their speculations upon Elizabeth's intended religious settlement. Thereafter, although Cecil, who had put aside the great beads which he had so ostentatiously laboured during the preceeding reign, made a memorandum to recommend his Queen to consider carefully the condition of the preacher there, Pauls Cross stood locked and untenanted, save by the pigeons, for five months. Indeed Sampson, who was to have preached there upon April 11th, the first Sunday after Easter, found, such was the state of the place and so foully had the pigeons dirtied it, that it was untenable. This, however, not before great labour and running to and fro, for the keys, after long disuse, were found to have disappeared, so that the Lord Mayor was forced to summon a smith to open the lock, before the premises could even be inspected. But upon May 14th, 1559, Grindal, newly returned from Germany by way of Strasburg, preached there before the Court, where he spoke

of "the restoring of the Book of King Edward, whereat the lords and the people made (or at least pretended) a wonderful rejoicing", although he did not say which Book of Prayer it was that he meant.¹ He was succeeded upon the following Sunday, by his fellow exile "the pevishe Dean" of Edward VI's days, Robert Horne, who spoke on this occasion to the Lord Mayor and many other civic dignitaries. On June 16th the Lord Mayor was again present to hear preach Edwin Sandys, eventually to become Archbishop of York where his hasty quarrelsomeness came to earn him many enemies. Among Sandys' audience on this occasion, and surrounded by other courtiers, stood the Earl of Bedford. Like Sandys he was a former exile, and whilst at Zurich he had, during his travels in the preceeding reign, made "a diligent inquiry into all things which made for the cause of the church and of religion".² Twelve days later a huge crowd assembled to hear John Jewell, who preached there again upon November 26th and who, on the latter occasion, challenged any follower of the Catholic religion to produce a passage from the authoritative fathers of the

1) Cal. S.P. For. 1558-9 no. 781, Alexander Nowell to John Abel, May 28th 1559.

2) W. Sinclair, Memorials of Pauls Cross, London 1909, p.156 et seq., Strype Annals I 7 1824 ed. and Parker Soc. Zurich Letters II 9.

first six centuries which might be counted upon to support the old Romish practices. So successful was this sermon that it was repeated before the Court in March of the following year.

For by now it was to be seen that the old religion was not to be continued; in the preceeding Spring had been held the Westminster Conference - parliament being especially prorogued in order that members might attend it - and upon the protestant side had appeared Scory, Cox, Horne, Aylmer, Whitehead, Grindal, Jewell and Guest. All save the latter had been exiles and they had won the day. Next had come the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy, and by the summer of 1559 the Visitors had begun to administer the oaths and to enforce that Prayer Book, which, save for two minor alterations, had been used in the reign of Edward VI. Upon August 11th the Visitors met in St. Pauls Cathedral and ordered the church to be purged not only of all superstitious crosses, images and altars, but also, contrary to their instructions, of all tonsures, capes and almuces, although this latter commandment was not obeyed. On the same day Horne preached there and took as his text "the wise and faithful servant". Then the mob got out of hand so that for three weeks great bonfires were to be seen in London of roods and

images, whilst elsewhere copes, vestments and other ornaments which were quite legal suffered a similar fate, although, generally speaking, the visitors met stronger opposition outside London itself as they proceeded steadily upon their circuit. For the Province of Canterbury the team was composed of preachers, divines and lawyers, together with a certain number of gentry, and among them were the former exiles Becon, Horne, Bentham, Jewell, Davies, Young and Sandys,¹ few as yet, with any definite ecclesiastical office. But consecrations were begun in December, after the Commission, created by letters patent in July, had come to an end in October 1559.

Once more, since circumstances forced the Catholic Bishops to refuse, the exiles were called in, this time to assist at the consecration of the new Archbishop, so that, upon December 17th the former Bishops Barlow and Scory were assisted in that office by John Hodgkins,

1) Seven persons were appointed to the "quorum" of this Commission, without one of whom being present the Commission could not act. The quorum contained the exiles Edmund Grindal, as yet only Bishop-elect of London, Sir Francis Knollys, Thomas Huick, soon to become Chancellor of the diocese of London and one who had already been appointed in the previous April "to ride aboute the realme for th'establishinge of true religion." (C. H. Garrett op. cit. p. 150 and J. R. Tanner, Tudor Constitutional Documents, p. 36.)

Bishop suffragan of Bedford, and the only one of the trio who had not been in exile. Then, between December 21st 1559 and February 16th 1559/60 the sees of London, Ely, Worcester, Chichester, Salisbury, Lincoln, St. Davids, St. Asaphs, Coventry and Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Norwich and Winchester were all filled with returned exiles.¹ This was indeed a most pressing problem, for it is recorded among the Sede Archiepiscopali Vacante in the Register of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury for the years 1558-59, that institutions had been made by that body to livings in seventeen dioceses in the Southern Province, of which eight were vacant by reason of the death of the former Bishop, a similar number because of deprivation, and one - the diocese of Gloucester - had stood vacant for some months previously.²

But it was not only the Bishoprics which were untenanted, for the lack of incumbents generally presented such an urgent problem that already before the end of 1559 some sixteen exiles had received livings in the Southern Province.³ In fact only five days after Parker's

1) Lamb.Pal.Lib.Parker Reg.I ff.18r Grindal, 22v Cox, 39r Sandys, 39v Barlow, 46v Jewell, 50r Bullingham, 54v Young, 56r Davies, 69v Bentham, 74r Berkeley, 84r Parkhurst and 88r Horne, respectively.

2) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. U2 passim.

3) These included Robert Cole, Rector St. Mary le Bow, Thomas Willoughby, Rector Bishopsbourne, Kent (Cooper Ath. Cant/

own consecration twenty-two deacons and priests were ordained by John Scory, now Bishop of Hereford, of which number were the exiles Thomas Lakyn and Thomas Walker, and on January 11th a further twenty-four were ordained, but this batch contained no exiles. Indeed it seems that Parker did not intend to admit such men into the ecclesiastical settlement at this time, for his Register contains a copy of a proclamation issued by him concerning an impending ordination in 1559/60:

"Be yt knowen to all true christian people by thes presents That uppon sondaye being the third daye of Marche next ensuing the most Reverend father in god Matthue by goddes sufferance Arche-busshop of Canturbery in his chappell within his mannor of Lambeth by the grace and helpe of almightie god intendith to celebrate hollie orders of deacons and presthood generallie to all suche as shalbe founde thereunto apte and mete for there lerning and godlie conversacon bringing with them sufficient lres (i.e. letters) testimoniall aswell of their vertuous lyving and honest deameanor in those placies where they nowe dwell and have dwelled by the space of three yeres last past." ¹

Cant. I pp.364 and 514), Hugh Kirk, Rector Hawkesbury, Glos, Edmund Thomson, Vicar St. Mimms, Middx. - instituted by Bonner March 1559 (C.H.Garrett, Marian Exiles pp.209,304), Robert Crowley, Archdeacon Hereford, Thomas Lever, Rector and Archdeacon Coventry, John Mullins, Canon St. Pauls, John Pedder, Dean of Worcester (D.N.B. V p.242, XI p.1021, XIII p.588, XV p.648), Thomas Mountain, Rector St. Pancras Soper Lane (J.Venn, Alum.Cant.III 223), Henry Parry, Chancellor Salisbury (Le Neve.Fasti.Eccles.Angl.II 652), Arthur Saule, Canon Bristol, John Wood, parish Welford Glos, George Acworth, Rector Ashton Flavell cum Burbage, Leics, Edmund Allen, parish Clive, Shoreham Deanery, Thomas Sorby, Pycombe parish, Gloucester Diocese, Thomas Langley, parish "Slawgham Chichester Diocese. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. U2 passim.)

1) Lamb.Pal.Lib. Parker's Register I f.219r.

*Slawgham
Shoreham*

This naturally excluded all those who had been abroad in exile or those who had been forced into hiding in the countryside under Mary. However, the ordination which seems to have occupied two consecutive Sundays, admitted more than one hundred and sixty priests and deacons, and in spite of the Archbishop's proclamation, one exile, Humphrey Alcockson, scraped through with the others; although it is possible that this was legitimate, since he is not heard of again on the continent after December 1554, when in Strasburg he received alms from the Duke of Wurtemberg's bounty, distributed to not a few exiles, and it is conceivable that he may have returned home shortly afterwards.¹ At all events, the Archbishop's wishes appear to have been respected by Bishops Bullingham, Berkeley and Barlow, who, on March 17th, April 9th, June 23rd and at some dates in August, ordained more than one hundred at Lambeth or St Pancras.² In all these, the name of only one exile is to be found; John Daniel, once a weaver in Essex and now ordained priest by Bishop Barlow in August.³ Such mass ordinations in London were necessary because the separate diocesan

1) Ibid. f. 220r and C. H. Garrett, op.cit. pp. 70, 273. On July 7th 1560 he was made a prebendary of St. Pauls by Grindal.

2) Parker Reg. I ff. 220, 221v, 222v, 213r.

3) Ibid. f. 222v.

organisations were not yet completed under the new reign.

Edmund Grindal, however, as Bishop of London shewed himself determined to admit no impediment to his plan for filling the church with as many of his fellow exiles as might wish to enter it. During his exile there had been a period when he had despaired of ever being able to return to England so that he had journeyed to Wasselheim and Speyer especially to learn German in order that "his voice might be heard in the German churches, if nowhere else", and already he had appointed Thomas Huick, D.C.L. brother of Henry VIII's physician and once an exile in Geneva as his Vicar-General.¹ This zeal for reformation, coupled with his delight at being home once more, set him upon an extravagant course that was eventually to lead to his suspension when he was Archbishop of Canterbury. As early as December 28th 1559 he began his ordination of the returned exiles, and on that day was admitted Thomas Jeffreys, Deacon, newly returned from Strasburg. And thus, before Archbishop Parker's proclamation forbidding the ordination of those who could not claim residence in one place for more than three years, Grindal had ordained twelve more exiles on January 14th

1) Parker Soc. Grindal Remains III note 5 and Lamb. Pal. Parker Reg. f. 12r. In 1561 Thomas Wattes and John Mullins became Grindal's chaplains to be joined in 1562 by Thomas Bickley. (Parker Soc. Parker I 209.)

or 25th.¹ The Archbishop's proclamation, however, did nothing to deter Grindal from his enthusiasm, for upon March 24th and 31st, and April 25th, he admitted a further nine into the ministry, besides ordaining Percival Wiborne as priest, whom he had only admitted as deacon at the end of January.² Parker then wrote him a letter of stern disapproval, directing him "to forbear ordaining any more Artificers and others that had been of secular occupations; that were unlearned",³ and although he ordained at this time two more exiles, - Thomas Turpin and Thomas Acworth - both of them were educated men. Thomas Turpin, a gentleman of Calais, member of a rich Leicestershire family, had been an important member of the little exiled colony at Aarau whilst Acworth, probably a brother of the more famous George, had graduated B.A. at Trinity College, Cambridge 1553-4, and was one of those who, whilst abroad, had especially continued his education with a view to entering the ministry.⁴ Yet in spite of this it must be

1) Strype, Life of Grindal 1710 ed. pp. 36, 37. These men were Thomas Spencer, Thomas Wilson, Robert Harrington, Percival Wiborne, Richard Tremayne, Theodore Newton, Peter Marwin, Adam Holiday all deacons and William Porrege, Roger Kelke, John Blake (Blage?) John Fox, all priests.

2) Ibid. pp. 38, 39, March 24th, Thomas Watts, priest, March 24th P. Wiborne priest March 27th, Thomas Horton, Richard Proude, priests, March 31st, William Betts, Thomas Upcher, Walter Kelly, Richard Langherne, John Woolton, Robert Joyner, deacons, April 25th

3) Ibid. p. 40.

4) Ibid. p. 49 and C.H. Garrett, op. cit. pp. 68 and 316 and refs

admitted that in Parker's own view they were undesirable, for neither of these men could claim domicile in England during the required period of three years, and there is no doubt that authority, at this early stage, although prepared to accept a few previously tried ministers, was unwilling to take the irrevocable step of ordaining men who had fled abroad without holding ecclesiastical office previously. Indeed this policy is reflected also in the appointment made to the strength of the High Commission in the Southern Province, for of the sixteen exiles who sat as members of the Commission at one time or another only six - Sir Anthony Cooke, Richard Cox, Edmund Grindal, Sir Francis Knolles, Alexander Nowell and Thomas Wattes - did so before 1572,¹ and all of these, save Wattes, had held positions of importance under Edward VI, whilst the ~~latter~~^{best-named} rose to eminence under Elizabeth by virtue of his patent ability and trustworthiness.

In the same way there is no doubt that some exiles who were already in orders before their flight found no difficulty in obtaining livings at a very early date after their return. In fact Alexander Nowell, presented in February 1559/60, even had time to consider his

1) R. G. Usher, The rise and fall of the High Commission, Oxford 1913, pp. 345 et seq. and p. 367.

situation sufficiently to submit his resignation from the rectory of Saltwood, near Hythe, as early as December 17th 1560.¹ Indeed, since no reason is given for this resignation, it is difficult to decide why he had originally accepted the living, unless it reflects the state of mind of the returning exile uncertain of his reception, and only too willing to grasp at any form of livelihood until the religious situation should become more settled. That this fear of unemployment after their return had occupied their thoughts abroad, there is no doubt; many of them had lived in extreme poverty during their exile and they must have awaited with much anxiety a chance to return to a competent living.

We are told that William Cole, the first married president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who so mismanaged that office that his Bishop, Robert Horne, threatened him with deposition, saved himself by poignantly demanding of his fellow-exile: "What, my good lord must I then eat mice at Zurich again?"² Two exiles at least, were lucky enough to have been promised patronage whilst still abroad, it seems; for upon November 19th 1559,

1) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker's Reg. I f.227v and 340v. John Pullain also was reinstated in his rectory at Cornhill, of which he had been deprived on Feb. 20th 1553/4, yet he resigned it before Nov. 15th 1560. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f. 26.)

2) C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 123 and ref.

John Wood was admitted to the parish church of Welford, in the diocese of Gloucester, which lay in the gift of George Horsey and Stephen Hales.¹ Although neither of his patrons had been in exile themselves, it seems reasonable to suppose that they were related to Christopher and John Hales, and to Edward and Francis Horsey respectively, particularly since both the Hales brothers and John Wood had resided in Frankfurt only, unlike many exiles who had travelled extensively. The other presentation in this manner concerns George Acworth, who had been abroad in Louvain, Paris and Padua, those very cities which harboured so many of the political refugees who had plotted for one or other of the rebellions raised against Queen Mary upon her accession. On September 23rd 1559 he was presented to the rectory of Ashton Flavell cum Burbage in Leicestershire by the patron, Sir John Grey.² Others were fortunate enough to pick up the threads of their old life where they had left them; thus, Edward Allen, once Chaplain to the Princess Elizabeth, was not only reinstated in that office, but also he was presented by his former mistress to the parish church of Clive, Shoreham Deanery, on May 9th 1559,

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. U2 Reg. Dean and Chapter Sede Vacante 1558-9 f. 27v.

2) Ibid. f. 97v and Camd. Misc. X 116.

whilst a month later Cecil despatched him once more to the continent on some foreign mission.¹ Other presentations by the Queen fell to Thomas Sorby who, upon May 20th 1559, received the living of Pycombe parish, in the diocese of Gloucester,² and to Humphrey Perkins, Richard Alvey and Alexander Nowell, all of whom, by virtue of letters patent issued on May 21st 1560, were installed as prebendaries at Westminster.³ This was logical, for all three had held various offices there in the reign of Edward VI. Humphrey Perkins, in fact had been a prebend at that time, so that he was merely reinstated, Alvey had been installed as a Canon there in 1552, whilst Nowell had been headmaster of Westminster School from 1543-55.⁴ The Queen also presented Cranmer's old Chaplain, Thomas Becon, to a canonry at Christ's Church, Canterbury on September 17th 1559, Arthur Saule, who, as a student at Heidelberg, had registered as "of the diocese of Bristol", to a canonry at Bristol; and Michael Renniger to a prebendal stall at Winchester in July 1560; whilst the Archbishop himself presented Robert Cole, on December 23rd 1559, to the rectory of St.

1) Cath.Lib. Cant. ms. U2 f. 16r and Cal.S.P.For.1558-9 no.86

2) Cath.Lib.Cant. ms U2 f. 44r.

3) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 221v.

4) C. H. Garrett, op.cit. pp.249, 71 and 237 respectively.

Mary-le-Bow, and on February 7th of the following year he issued a mandate to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, for the institution of John Bale, once Bishop of Ossory, to another vacant canonry.¹ But, whilst the Queen and her Archbishop were prepared to assist by personal intercession such men as these, they were not prepared to be jockeyed into any situation which did not suit them, and most certainly were they roused to violent action against any illegal subvention of the established settlement. It is now known that Theodore Newton, by some unknown method, succeeded in contriving his institution by letters patent to a prebendal stall at Christ's Church, Canterbury, at some date before October 20th 1559,² yet, he was not ordained deacon by Grindal until January 25th 1559/60. So stern does it appear was his reprimand for endeavouring such a crime, that he considered it safer to return to the continent without delay, for which purpose he obtained royal license,

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. V I Extracts from the Dean and Chapter Register 1553-58 ff. 63a and 60. (Most of this Register was unfortunately destroyed by the fire of 1670.) and Lamb. Pal Lib. Parker's Register ff. 168 and 340r and Register II f. 35r. In 1561 Renniger became chaplain to the Queen, as did another exile, Thomas Willoughbie, at this time.

2) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. V I f. 63b, and Parker Reg. f. 304r where he is listed as one of the prebends, although absent abroad by the Queen's license, Sept. 1560.

staying away for three or four years longer, although he must have been subsequently priested, for in June 1565, he was collated to the Rectory of Ringwold, Kent, and in September 1567 to that of St. Dionisius, Backchurch, the latter vacant, interestingly enough, by reason of the death of the last incumbent, Thomas Becon.¹ Three others at this time, who attempted similar methods of entering the church, appear to have incurred less drastic penalties, possibly because two of them had actually received ordination under Edward VI. Both John Dodman, who had only received deacon's orders before his flight, and John Pulleyn, who had been priested in 1551, were apprehended in Colchester and sent before the Council in April 1559 for preaching without a license, contrary to the proclamation issued the previous December, but both of them received preferment from Grindal within a few years, Dodman to the livings of Bentley and East Newcourt and Pulleyn to the Archdeaconry of Colchester.² Of Thomas Langley's subsequent career however, after his initial appointment by the Dean and Chapter at Canterbury to the parish church of "Slawgham", in the diocese of Chichester,³ there is no record, and this may be

See 110.

- 1) C.H.Garrett, op.cit. p.286 and refs. and Lamb.Pal.Lib. Parker Reg. ff, 372v and 383v, and 305.
- 2) C.H.Garrett, op.cit. pp. 145 and 262.
- 3) Cath.Lib.Cant.ms. U2 f.43r, March 8th 1558/9 and C.H. Garrett op.cit. p.215. See also App. I p. lxxxviii.

because, during his exile at Geneva, he registered as a "labourer" whilst no register of his ordination before this institution in March 1558/9 has been traced under Elizabeth, so that it is possible that he, too, like Newton was deprived for lack of orders.

From a number of entries discovered in the Bishop's Registers at Norwich it is now known that certain exiles obtained livings in the Eastern Counties at an earlier date than has hitherto been suspected, and yet by methods as illicit as those adopted by Newton or Langley. The first of these was Edmund Chapman alias Barker, who, upon June 26th 1559, was instituted to the living of Marsham,¹ although he does not appear to have been then in orders,² which fact, however did not hinder his career, for, receiving ordination in 1566, from 1569-76, he served as a prebendary of Norwich until deprived for zealous puritanism.³ Another of these was John Huntingdon, but his case is not so extreme for, since he had once been apprehended as a troublesome preacher in 1553, after which he had fled to Strasburg, and since he had preached at Boulogne in 1547, it is likely that he held some qualifications by which he obtained his license under Edward

1) Norwich Reg. Institution Book XVIII f.224v.

2) J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* I 85, 321.

3) C. H. Garrett, *op.cit.* p.79.

VI; yet he possessed no degree and also, besides this living of St. Mary Warham, to which he was presented on June 17th 1560, he held a canonry at Exeter and other livings in Somerset and Devon.¹ Another early arrival into the ministry in this district was John Maydwell, a Scottish friar whose place of exile is unknown, and who, as early as May 10th 1559 was presented to the parish church of Woodeaton, in the diocese of Norwich, during the vacancy of the Bishopric which existed between the death of the catholic and persecuting Hopton in 1559, and Parkhurst's appointment in 1560.² The diocese had been very troublesome under Mary, and Hopton had imposed three articles upon all the clergy which, unfortunately, are not extant in the Register, but which were the cause of many deprivations or resignations. Few of those so deprived chose to go into exile, and upon Elizabeth's accession the majority were reinstated almost at once,³ although William Porrege, one of those ordained in January by Grindal, received an appointment to the parish

1) Norwich Reg. XIX Parkhurst's Register f.32r.

2) Norwich Reg. Institution Book XVIII f.221r and Dasent Acts of the Privy Co. VII p.45. See also Maydwell p.243, below.

3) Norwich Reg. Consistory Court Act Book 1553-58 passim, and the Bishops' Reg. XIX and Institution Book XVIII passim. A similar situation is found in the London diocese, where 19 exiles were restored to their original livings. (E.L.C. Mullins, The effects of the Marian and Elizabethan Settlement upon the clergy of London, I.H.R. M.A. Thesis.)

of Grimston, and John Machet, a Norfolk man who became the Archbishop's chaplain in 1574, was presented to the living of St. Clements Bridge in August 1560, both appointments being issued from Lambeth.¹ These vacancies, however, were probably by reason of the death of the former protestant incumbents deprived under Mary.²

But the Archbishop, after the first rush of ordinations to fill the dwindling ministry, or presentations of such previously trusted men as we have seen above, next turned his attention to ordering his administrative staff, and here again the exiles found a place. That is to say, their numbers contained not only men who were influential by reason of birth, but also experts in all professions. Their ascendancy had been immediately apparent at the Westminster Conference, where they had been able to press for the second Edwardian Prayer Book contrary to their instructions, which had ordered the discussions to be limited to a basis of the first Book. Indeed, so persuasive had they been that they and others of their number had induced the

1) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker's Reg. f.154r.

2) Unfortunately certain other records of institutions at this time are not extant, for it is possible that they might contain information concerning other exiles. There is a note at the end of the ms. (Norwich Reg. Institution Book XVIII) which records that other institutions for July 1559 were entered in a Book of Administration beginning January 1557, but this book has not survived.

Commons to press for that same Book in the first Parliament, where it is likely that no such matter had been considered suitable for introduction at that early date. Yet others had sufficiently influenced Court circles to admit the passage of the Act of Uniformity through the House of Lords. In the same way, when opportunity permitted the reorganisation of the church courts, these men were to be found giving the new Archbishop the benefit of their previous experience there also. The principal of these courts was the Court of Arches, which was the Appellate Court of the Archbishops, to which all parties appealed from any court of the Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons or their officials, besides being a court of first instance for all ecclesiastical causes, and as such it contained the highest legal machinery in the Anglican Church. It was to this court that no fewer than three exiles were presented by Parker soon after their return. This was, no doubt, not because they held or did not hold certain views, but rather because they were men of outstanding ability and therefore the natural choice. Thus, Thomas Wilson, who had obtained his LL.D. when in exile at Ferrara, and George Acworth were appointed Advocates, whilst Roger Parker, who, Strype says, was "...of an inquisitive mind

in the doctrines of religion" and "a person of great piety", became one of the proctors there.¹ It is possible that others, too, received appointments in this, or other, courts upon their return, but no mention of institution occurs in the very full Archiepiscopal register solely because the Archbishops did not personally fill the lower positions in their courts, the right of presentation lying elsewhere. Meanwhile, the presentations went on throughout the province, for very many livings were standing vacant at this time. Again, as in the matter of the Episcopacy, the authorities were fortunate, for it is recorded in the majority of cases outside London that installation was by reason of the death of the former incumbent, rather than by deprivation or resignation. Indeed the Register of the Dean and Chapter at Canterbury, during the vacancy of the Archbishopric 1558-9, records, out of a total of some 230 presentations, only some 16 resignations and 34 deprivations of the previous incumbent from ecclesiastical offices within the Southern Province during the early

1) Lamb.Pal.Lib. Parker's Reg. I ff.228v, 240r and 244r. On Feb. 28th 1560/61, Nov. 1st 1562, and Jan. 11th 1562/3 respectively; in June 1571, another exile, William Maister, also became Advocate there. Ibid. f.297v; it is worth noticing that Thomas Argall, the father of another exile, was Registrar in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury as early in the new reign as December 1559. Ibid. f.18r.

months of the new reign.¹ In the diocese of Norwich, the Register for the corresponding period and up to the end of 1560, only records one case of deprivation,² which points to a serious lack of priests under Mary in view of Hopton's numerous deprivations mentioned above.

There is no doubt that the church, both by reason of lack of ministers as well because of the disrepair of ecclesiastical property, was in urgent need of attention. During Edward VI's reign many laymen had plundered church property, as much for personal gain as for religious detestation of the old ways. Thus, a jury in Mary's reign had presented the "good justice" Edward Isaac of Well, who later retired to Strasburg, "for that he hathe made lofts ther in the saide Chappell for corne and haye so that divyne sarvice cannot ther be mynystred. And also hath made ther a workehouse for a wever and a kennell for his hounds"³ and William Hammond, who also fled to Strasburg "for that he toke awaye the Roodelofte and the fownte a crosse coveryd wt lead a crosse coveryd wth Iron certen leads cut owt of the steple to let in pygyons and cut of the crosse

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. U2 passim.

2) Norwich Reg. Bishops Reg. XIX passim.

3) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. X 8.4 f.18v.

beame that ley crosse the chauncell".¹ It is recorded elsewhere of this same chapel that it is "all pulled downe and taken awaye and a dow house therof made," and that also there is "the fonte stone taken away and is usid to serve swyne in".² Consequently the churches were, generally speaking, in disrepair and poorly furnished, whilst of one minister in Kent, it is recorded that whereas he used to administer the Communion wine in a silver bowl under Mary, he now used a milk-jug.³ This, no doubt, was done out of obstinacy, and it is possible that some parishes had not been so badly plundered as the more Romish priests endeavoured to make out, but nevertheless, the Queen felt compelled to request the Archbishop and Bishop Grindal to see that the High Commissioners made a special effort in this direction; and in particular she complained that:

".....in sundry churches and chappells where divine service as prayre preachinge and ministration of the Sacramentes bee used, there is such negligence and lacke of convenient reverence used towardes the comelye keepinge and order of the saide churches and specially of the upper parte called the chauncells that it breedeth noe small offence and slaunder to

1) Ibid. f.46r. It was also complained of this chapel that "ther was such a savor of hogg skynnes that no man colde abide in the chappell for the stinck thereof".

2) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Pole's Visitation Register 1556 ff.82v and 83r.

3) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. X 1.2 ff.27, 28.

see and consider on the one parte the curiositie and costes bestowed by all sortes of menn upon there private houses and on the other parte the uncleane or negligent order and spare keepinge of the house of prayre by permyttinge open decayes and ruines of coveringes walles and wyndowes, and by appoyntinge unmeete and unseemely Tables wth fowle clothes for the Communion of the Sacramentes, and generallye leavinge the place of prayres desolate of all cleanlyes and of meete ornamentes for such a place whereby it might be knowne a place provided for divine service....."1

The truth is that whereas it had been the reformers who had first so damaged the churches by plunder, it was now the Catholics who hastened their decay in a more passive manner, by withholding tithes from many parishes so that there was no money with which to repair the leaking roofs, and in a very short while the destruction which the reformers had begun under Edward VI, and, before their exile during the early years of Mary, was completed by the wind and weather which soon got in among the beams and stonework of the fabric. The situation of course, was very similar to that when Mary ascended the throne, for just as exiles had stayed on, pugnaciously hostile, at home as long as they could, before taking to flight, so now did the Catholics resist in the hope of a favourable change. Thus a Catholic,

1) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. f.215. In 1560 Queen Elizabeth was forced to issue a proclamation against breaking ancient monuments in churches or converting church-bells to private uses. (Cal. S.P.Dom. 1547-80 XII 32. Sept. 19th.)

Richard Goteley, who had been "an accuser in Quene Marys tyme", ordered to be present to witness the destruction of the rood loft in his parish church, not only refused but said to the church-warden: "Let hym take hede that his aucthorytye be good before yt be puld downe for we know what we have had but we know not what we shall have".¹ The more educated reformer understood this hostility, and how it served to deprive the church of the coherence that was so badly needed at this time; thus John Scory, Bishop of Hereford, wrote to Parker on February 17th 1564/5:

".....I am in good hoope of reformation: otherwise disorder and contempt of religion will still contynue as before tymes: and then I shall wishe my selfe (as I have done often) to be further of: and that either thei had a new bushop, or I a moare conformable churche".²

For a conscientious Bishop, life was not easy because the situation still required careful handling, but naturally those in authority could not strictly control their fellow exiles, so that some of the more violent ones were hot-headed enough to enter the field of politics with extravagant broadsides such as that of John Hales

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.3. "Throwghley" parish.

2) Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 6990 f. 30, original letter Scory to Parker.

whose case is discussed elsewhere.¹ Others, in their impatient enthusiasm to build a new Jerusalem from within the church, but further antagonised the Catholics.

Thus, at Little Chart in Kent in 1569, it is found that the incumbent was administering the sacrament in a tin cup,² whilst in the same year it is recorded of Anthony Cariar, who as an exile in Frankfurt had been one of those that had signed the letter of invitation to John Knox, and who was now Vicar of Lynton near Maidstone, that:

".....he hathe not followed the publique order sett forthe by the Quenes iniunctyons for that he hathe refused to bury the dedd..... sayenge it was not his office, but he had authorized the clerk to do the same.....he said in the pulpett the sonday following the XIIth day, (of December last) that it was not the prests offyce to bury the dedd sayenge reade all the old testament and the newe testament thoroughe and you shall not finde it, saying also it is the popes law and therefore he will not bury the dead being wycked....."³

Such heresies were of course dangerous, but preachers and ministers were short, as the extracts still extant from the dispensations granted in Archbishop Parker's Court of Faculties plainly shew. Many licenses were granted to hold sometimes three benefices, sometimes

1) Chap. I above, p. 46.

2) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. z.3.10. pt. I f. 39.

3) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.9. Acta and Comperta, Archdeacon Lenham parish, April 29th, 1569.

two, and such reforming material as there was had to be made the best of, and it has not been found that any exile who sought a living in the church was ever refused at least a first chance; so that by the middle of the 1560's almost all either still were, or once had been ministers in the Anglican church. Thus, between 1571 and 1575 dispensations were granted to six exiles to hold two or more livings, and two of these proved very radical indeed; the most important of whom was Roger Kelke. As early as November 1558 he had received appointment as Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, part of whose duties consisted of preaching at certain times in the Eastern counties, and it was whilst so engaged at Ipswich that he was accused to the corporation of being a liar and "a preacher of noe trewe doctrine". Nevertheless he continued to serve as Master and, in 1565, vigorously opposed the Archbishop's Visitation articles for the University concerning vestments.¹ His career is typical of many Elizabethan office-holders, for, as so often happened, he remained in office in spite of his short-comings which were forgiven so long as his virtues continued to outweigh his defects, and

1) D.N.B. X p. 1227 and Cooper Ath. Cant. I p.342. There were 2 preachers to the Corporation of Ipswich, the other being the Scottish exile John Macbraire, q.v. p.240 below.

providing that he shewed himself conformable in the long-run, no matter how unwillingly. But as soon as a man became a liability, his resignation or suspension quickly followed, as the other case plainly shews. Thomas Upcher, once a weaver of Bocking, Essex, who had fled to Aarau like so many artisans and who, upon his return, was instituted to the parish churches of Fordham and St. Leonards, Colchester, found his dual position as a minister in the Anglican church and a sectary in the Classical Movement quite untenable at one and the same time and he felt forced to resign his livings in 1582.¹ His case, however, is hardly the normal one of the Marian exile, who generally speaking, as has been noticed elsewhere, was sufficiently intelligent to see the follies and dangers of separatism. This is surely testified by the fact that, of all the returned exiles, only nine

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. Lit. B2, the six exiles granted dispensations were: Richard Mason, April 3rd 1571, Roger Kelke, February 7th 1571/2, Thomas Upcher, June 2nd 1572, Arthur Saule, March 20th 1574/5, Michael Renniger, April 14th 1575, George Acworth, 5th(?) May 1575. Since only some extracts of this volume have survived the fire at Canterbury in 1670 it is likely that many more returned exiles held pluralities whose names have not survived. This volume of mss. is described in the Catalogue (Cath.Lib. 36 and 96) as extracts from Archbishop Parker's Register, but it seems more likely that it is concerned with dispensations granted in the Court of Faculties. In any case it is not Parker's Register, which is at Lambeth, and anyhow it covers entries after Parker's death.

were deprived, five sequestered, and three - of whom Upcher was one - resigned.¹

But by now death had thinned the ranks of the older exiles, whose good example might have curbed the newly-risen sectaries who had not had the advantage of such intimacy with their elders as exile had brought to those who had followed them abroad, and who, mostly, had been prepared to sit at their feet at home too. Thus, Sandys, in a letter to Bullinger, in August 1573 calls these new men "novi oratores.....adolescentes, qui cum autoritate contemnunt nec superiores patiuntur".² Many of these "superiors", of course, were former exiles, for it was not only in the church that they served their Queen, but rather in every administrative or executive office in the land. Thus the Earl of Bedford

1) Deprivations: Edmund Laurence, Thomas Lever, Thomas Sampson, Edmund Thomson, William Turner, William Birch, Christopher Goodman, Robert Gawton, John Taverner. Sequestrations: Edmund Grindal and Roger Parker (suspended only); David Whitehead, Percival Wiborne, Robert Crowley. Resignations: Miles Coverdale, John Foxe, Thomas Upcher. Concerning Grindal's sequestration, although it is not yet possible to fix a positive date for this, from a copy of the Council's letter to Grindal, dated May 10th 1581, it is possible to state that it had occurred before that time. The Council ordered Grindal to institute a collection for a certain indigent Catholic, "notwithstanding yor present sequestracion....." (Lamb.Pal.Lib.Grindal Reg. f.234r and v.)
2) St. Pauls Cath. Lib. ms. I, Epistolae vivorum doctorum de rebus Ecclesiasticis tempore Eliz. Regina, letter no.89.

was a regular attender at the sessions of the Privy Council from as early as November 1558, although later his duties elsewhere, particularly as Lord Lieutenant of Devon, kept him away from London, so that his presence gradually became less frequent, and in the year 1577-8 he only attended twice.¹ A few months after the Earl had been sworn a member of the Privy Council, Sir Francis Knollys was both admitted Vice Chamberlain of the Queen's Household and a Privy Councillor on January 13th 1558/9, whilst by 1570 he had become Treasurer of the Household and continued to sit in the Council.² Three years after Knollys' promotion, on December 21st 1573, Francis Walsingham, possibly the most influential of all the exiles in that office, became Secretary and a Councillor,³ to be followed there in 1577 by Doctor, now Sir Thomas, Wilson, the lawyer who had once plotted against Cardinal Pole whilst an exiled student at Rome.⁴ Although there were nominally some sixteen councillors, the average attendance was seven, and it may be easily seen how great could be the influence which these exiles might wield if they so chose, particularly when it is considered

1) Dasent Acts of the Privy Council VII and X passim.

2) Dasent VII Introduction p. XXXV.

3) Dasent VIII p. 169.

4) Dasent X p. 85.

that, from 1573-86, all the most important additions to the personnel had been made up, with the exception of Hunsdon, entirely from one party, that of Leicester. Leicester, Warwick, Bedford, Walsingham and Knollys, all related, were already there at this date, and the subsequent additions, apart from Wilson, were: Sir Christopher Hatton, who always supported Leicester so long as they were together in the Council, Sir Thomas Bromley, Leicester's protégé and candidate for Lord Keeper after Nicholas Bacon's death, and the Protestant Lord Howard of Effingham, whilst from 1572 until his death in 1584, Edmund Tremayne, once an exile in Venice, served as one of the four clerks there.¹ During Elizabeth's reign the Privy Council wielded great power, not only in the executive but also in the legislative and judicial spheres. Its proclamations throughout the realm had practically the force of law, and in two places, in the Channel Islands and in Ireland, its word was law, whilst elsewhere its powers were intensified by the Councils of the North, of the West and of Wales, and by the Courts of High Commission, Star Chamber and Requests.

1) E.H.R XXXVIII A. F. Pollard, The Privy Council under the Tudors.

Of course it cannot be supposed that their actions regarding ecclesiastical affairs were governed principally by partisanship, but nevertheless the times they lived in served their own inclinations and it would not be surprising if the latter had led them to be more hostile to the Catholics and less severe upon the Protestants than they were. At the beginning, just as the Archbishop found it necessary to survey his administration, so did the Council inspect the governmental machinery of England. Thus in 1564 letters were sent to the Bishops of all dioceses in order to ascertain to what extent the Justices of the Peace seemed prepared to accept the new Ecclesiastical settlement. These letters have not survived, but from the answers submitted by the Bishops it would appear that a very thorough examination had been called for, whilst it affords an interesting glimpse into the views of the country gentry at that period to discover that, of a total of 851 names submitted, 431 were reported as favourable to the settlement, 264 were indifferent or not favourable and only 157 were actually hostile.¹ As might be expected the remoter dioceses of Carlisle, Durham, York, Worcester,

1) A collection of original letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council 1564, Camd.Misc. IX passim and introduction p. III.

Hereford and Exeter proved the most hostile, whilst Staffordshire held a caucus of "hinderers" led by the Vernons, and in Buckinghamshire, curiously enough, it was reported that Sir Robert Drury, whose third son William had been an exile at Rouen and Padua and who himself had been knighted on the Shrove Tuesday immediately after Edward VI's Coronation, was leading a large number of men "not fit to be trusted".¹ Taken generally, however, this report must have been welcomed by those to whom it was presented, but such matters formed almost a daily part of the agenda of the Council, so that there are continual notes in Cecil's own manuscript of "Certeyn thyngs necessary to be better ordered" in the church; or "thyngs nedeful to be considered how to be ordered of ye chirch",² whilst other members of the Council busied themselves, particularly after the Rebellion of the North, in hunting down Catholic traitors. Thus in February 1572, after Wentworth had been sequestered, the House of Commons, still bent upon reformation of discipline in the church, referred the matter not to a committee composed of a few Privy

1) Ibid. p.III and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 2517 f.355v.

2) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 104 ff. 27, 29, and cf. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 III 52, CVII 92, CVIII 40 for the Council's discussions on the Westminster Conference, preachers to be protected in Colchester, search for popish tools and vestments, etc.

Councillors and one or two of their members, as was usual, but "only to all the Privy-Council of this house";¹ whilst in September of the same year the Council ordered the three former exiles, Sir Thomas Wrothe, Sir Peter Carew and Henry Knollys, senior, to enquire into the state and number of the popish prisoners in the Tower and in particular to discover "to whom one Blackwall that served ye late Erle of Northumberland hath resorted in the Tower".² If this is he who became so famous later in the Jesuit quarrel arising at Wisbeach Castle, it is an episode in his early career which has hitherto escaped notice.

On some occasions, however, the Council's action proved an embarrassment to their fellow exiles rather than otherwise, and in May 1579, John Aylmer, by now Bishop of London in succession to Sandys, who had become Archbishop of York, frankly told Burghley it was he who most discouraged him and some other Bishops, by blaming them for their severity and by finding excuses for the non-conforming preachers, so that the puritans became yet further emboldened whilst the authority of the Bishops stood in greater jeopardy than ever.³ This was

1) Simonds D'Ewes Journal 1682 ed. p. 251.

2) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 155 f. 315v.

3) Parker Soc. Parker Correspondence pp.344, 367, 369.

no doubt true in certain cases as, for example, in that of 1580 when the Council, having heard that the two puritan preachers, More and Roberts, were to be restrained from preaching by the Bishop of Norwich, wrote to the latter urging that he should deal leniently with them,¹ whilst four years later, Knollys wrote to Burghley pleading for the puritans and criticising Whitgift's policy of rigorous prosecution of those who did not strictly obey the law:

"My good Lord.....I have but a life to lose and would to God, I might spend it in the field against her Majesty's enemies, for I must not live without her Majesty's safety and I have some skill of forcible fights in the field. But it grieves my heart to see the course of popish treason to be neglected and to see the zealous preachers of the gospel, sound in doctrine (who are the most diligent barkers against the popish wolf to save the fold and flock of Christ) to be persecuted and put to silence as though there were no enemies to her majesty and to the state but they, and as though their refusal of an unlawful subscription (to such as are not persuaded therein) were a sufficient cause to exempt them and to exile or to condemn them".

These no doubt were Knollys' true opinions, although he was quite right when he added, as an indictment upon Whitgift, that:

"this absolute authority to be drawn up to a high foundation without controlment of Prince or Council is it, I do feare (I say) that doth make all this stir.....I do think

1) Dasent op.cit. XI p. 437 April 5th 1570.

it to be a dangerous matter to her Majesty's safety that the politic government of matters of state, as well concerning forms and accidents of and to religion as otherwise should be taken from all Councillors of her Majesty's estate and only to be given over to the rule of Bishops that are not always indifferent in their own cases of sovereignty."¹

Lord Burghley, to whom this letter was addressed, undoubtedly felt a similar hostility, and for the same reasons; thus, he never replied to Whitgift's complaints about Robert Beale, the puritan clerk of the Council, who was working hard to promote favour for the non-conformists at this time, and somewhat later he told the Archbishop, concerning his 24 articles, that he thought them:

"So curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances as I think the Inquisitors of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend, and to trap their preys."

Indeed the Council appears to have almost gone out of its way to demonstrate its puritan sympathy at this critical time, for upon April 2nd 1584, they wrote to William Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, ordering him to increase the number of prophesyings held in his diocese, and to see that meetings were convened at least once a month in the Summer, and that ministers who did not

1) Knollys to Burghley June 13th 1584. Quoted in M.M.Knappen Tudor Puritanism Chicago 1939 p.275 From Cal.S.P.Dom 1581-90 CLXXIV 22.

attend should be fined. Further, the instructions directed that the Bishop should take advice upon the whole matter from certain specified clergy, the first of whom was Christopher Goodman, once so unpopular by reason of his book "How superior Powers ought to be obeyed" that he did not dare to return to England after his exile, but was forced to seek sanctuary in St. Andrews, Fife, and elsewhere until 1565.¹

There is no doubt, therefore, that sometimes the Privy Council allowed their personal views to intrude upon their official decisions, but there are numerous occasions when it is not possible to hold this view, for the returned exile was to be found everywhere in society in England and, in many cases, he was the obvious choice for the task to which he was appointed. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Henry Killigrew, Francis Walsingham and Edward Horsey, all ambassadors to France at one time or another, had all, with the exception of Walsingham, passed their exile in France. Walsingham seems to have travelled widely, to Basle in the Autumn of 1555 and to Padua that same Winter. It has been said that his subsequent whereabouts cannot be discovered, but there

1) Gonville and Caius Coll. Camb. ms. (Moore) 197 pp. 179-80
Quoted by M. M. Knappen op.cit. p. 276.

is extant an original letter written by Edward Frencham, the fussy little merchant exiled at Zurich, to Thomas Randolph at Strasburg in the Spring of 1556 in which he says, "I wrote also unto you bye or frende Mr. Walsingham",¹ so that at this time it would appear that Walsingham was still performing his tour perfecting his knowledge of foreign customs and languages to an extent which far exceeded that of his contemporaries. In the same way Daniel Rogers, who was born in Wittenberg, the son of John Rogers the Martyr, and who studied under Melancthon in that city, was repeatedly despatched by Elizabeth's Council on the diplomatic missions to Holland, Emden, the Low Countries and Germany.² Similarly, in a humbler guise, Robert Best, the Essex Weaver, served Walsingham in Paris in 1580, acting as his agent in an endeavour to obtain information from the Secretary to the Spanish agent there about the intended invasion of Ireland. Best, if it indeed be the exile, never seems to have returned to England after his flight in 1555, and it is possible that he attached himself straight away

1) Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 416 ff. 125-128. Cf. also L. Kent Appendix I p. xlvi. There was, it seems, much intercourse between the cities of exile.

2) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 155 ff. 128, 204, Cotton. ms. Galba C VI Pt. II f. 152, and Lans. ms. 982 f. 136 respectively; instructions to Rogers.

after peace was made with France to the English Embassy in Paris as some sort of servant.. At any rate Henry Cobham the Ambassador in 1580 calls him "friend and servant" and writes sorrowfully home of the "miserable chance happened to Best", for his subterfuge was discovered by the Spaniards and he was shot in the stomach by assassins just outside Cobham's house, early one June morning, and died soon after.¹ In the absence of further evidence, it is possible that others, of whom no trace has been found in England under Elizabeth, also chose to remain abroad after Mary's death, for there must have been many who, like Grindal, had despaired of ever being able to return home and who would have doubtless echoed the recusant's admonition to the church-warden to "take hede that his aucthorytye be good.....for we know what we have had but we know not what we shall have." The situation perhaps seemed too fluid to warrant a return home, whilst some of the older men, with no positions waiting for them in England, may not have relished a second upheaval of goods and chattels if they were already earning a competent livelihood abroad.

Of those who did return however, it must not be

1) Cal. S.P.For. 1579-80 nos. 300 and 352, Cobham to the Secretaries Thomas Wilson and Walsingham.

supposed that they all received, or indeed sought, employment in some official capacity. Some of them, and particularly those that came from the West of England, were pure adventurers forced into exile rather by reason of some crime against order than because of religion. Many of them had joined one or other of the conspiracies raised against Mary, but did so more in the spirit with which they fought their private feuds or sailed the Channel as pirates, than because they were thinking of their own salvation. Upon their return, they therefore slipped back into their old ways, and thus in June 1565 the Privy Council was forced to despatch Sir Peter Carew to his native county with instructions to bring to an end the long standing feud between the Mohuns and the Killigrews. Three of the latter family had spent their exile in Rouen, undoubtedly a good base to which to transfer their piratical activities against Spaniards in the Channel, whilst Sir William Mohun, who later married a Horsey, fled to Padua in 1557. Of Lord Mohun's complaints against the Killigrews, it is recorded that thirteen of them concerned piracy, so that it is little wonder that Elizabeth found no favourable position for any of them upon their return.¹ Two years later, Sir Peter Carew

1) Dasent VII pp.225, 292, 294.

himself, who had spent his youth as a soldier of fortune in France and Italy before finding favour in England towards the end of Henry VIII's reign, and who upon the failure of the Western Rising had slipped quietly across the Channel in January 1554, was engaged in another of those private feuds which seemed to brew so easily in the West, so that the Privy Council warned him to prosecute it at his peril.¹ Eventually a despairing government sent him to Ireland, where in 1570 he attempted typically, to recreate a military colony at Idrone or Odrone by buying up certain title deeds, long since abandoned again to the Irish, and endeavoured to impose himself there by force.² The employment by authority of men to quell disorders towards which they themselves had a penchant is, of course, one of the reasons for the success of Tudor Government, which appointed another exile of this kind, Edward Horsey, to be Governor of the Isle of Wight at a salary of £20 per annum. This income he not unnaturally supplemented by engaging in that piracy in the Channel which he had been especially appointed to suppress, so that in 1564 the Privy Council rather pointedly reminded him of the penalties for that crime,

1) Dasent VII p. 338

2) Dasent VIII p. 18.

and at the same time, required him to exact it from those who prosecuted it in his district.¹ As a result Edward Horsey appears to have abandoned that source of income in favour of a more peaceable one. In May 1579 he wrote to Burghley and said that, although he had already written a memorandum to their Lordships in the Council informing them of certain pirates which had been taken in this district:

"the whiche I knowe yor L. shall see.....
only I writte theise fewe lynes to shewe a
dewtyfull remembrance. And wthall to lett yor L.
understand that Cornelis hath made a good quantitie
of Sawlte peter the wch I sawe my self in the
vessels aboylinge abowte XX dayes paste not then
cum to perfection".²

Cornelius Stephinson, referred to in this context, had been in exile in Geneva after serving the Horseys in their buccaneering exploits with a base in Ireland during Mary's reign. He was, it seems, a foreigner, for in March 1562 he applied for letters of denisation, describing himself as "from the Dominion of the King of Spain."³ Burghley had subsequently introduced him to Horsey at

1) Nat.Lib.Scot. ms.17.1.1. f.32 and Dasent VII 180.

2) Brit.Mus.Lans. ms. 30 f.7. May 25th, 1579, orig.letter Horsey to Burghley.

3) Procs. Hug.Soc. VIII p.225. It is worth mentioning that a burgess of Edinburgh "Andro Stevinsoun" and two others contracted with the King and Queen in 1565 to mine lead in Scotland. (Reg. Ho. Inventory of State Papers, Scotland 1292-1761.no. 77.)

Windsor Castle, and had also helped to finance his mining operation, for Stephinson wrote to Burghley in June 1580 thanking him for his past help and asking that Horsey, without whose money and assistance the mines would have been a failure, might be suitably rewarded. Indeed, ill-luck seems to have dogged Horsey and Stephinson all the way in this matter for earlier Horsey had written to Burghley of a disaster which had befallen his partner:

"Cornelis going from his workes in the forrest to another worke he hathe in Dorsettshire for the makinge of ^{allowe} ~~allowe~~ was mett erly in a morninge he beinge on horse backe by iii fotemen, and one of them wth a staff strake at his hedd the wch blowe he beare off wth his right-hande wherewth he hadd ii of his fingers broken and savid himself by the speede of his horse."¹

No more is heard of this scheme, and it is possible that it proved a failure; such operations seem to have caught the fancy of several Elizabethans who, having perhaps missed the scramble for new wealth in the dissolution of the church lands, presumably wished to obtain riches by some other means. Thus another exile William Williams, also from Dorset, associated himself with William Humfrey, Paymaster of the Mint, in 1565 in a similar promotion of mining works. He too had passed some of his exile in

1) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 30 ff. 6 and 7. Stephinson to Burghley, and Horsey to same.

Geneva, so that one can see what direction, other than religion, some of their discussions abroad may have taken.¹ It may be that such conversations were especially popular in Geneva, rather than in the other cities of exile, for as early as November 1559 there is an account of a certain quantity of brass ordnance and powder received into the Tower of London for the Queen's use, from Anthony Hickman and one Edward Castelyn.² It has been discovered during the course of these researches that the Hickmans were old acquaintances of John Knox, introduced to the latter by his friends the Lockes in London, and that Anthony had spent part of the time abroad. John Foxe, however, when he wrote to him at Bugden to congratulate him on his "long loked for returne", does not mention his place of exile, but his friendship with Knox leads one to suspect that it was to Geneva that he fled at some date after November 1556, when he was still in London.³ Later he journeyed into Scotland to undertake certain mining

1) Cal.S.P.Dom. 1547-80 vol. XXXVII Nos.30,43,44,52,73. In Oct. 1565 Humphrey was accused of robbing the Mint in order to do Thomas Stanley, the Treasurer and once an exile, "a shrewd turn". Ibid.nos.56-58.

2) Cal.S.P.Dom. 1547-80 VII 41 Nov. 25th.

3) Laing Knox's Works IV pp. 219-222 and 239, and Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 416 f.134, original letter Foxe to Hickman and endorsed in a later hand "Fox to Hickman at Bugden, newly returned from his exile".

operations.¹

But, apart from those who merely dabbled in such concerns, there were more than twenty merchants proper to be found amongst the company of exiles. From an early date many of them had been interested in printing, so that Whitchurch, Thomas Poyntz and Grafton had printed the third edition of the "Great Bible" in 1541, first printed in Paris by the latter with Miles Coverdale's assistance. Grafton, by Mary's time, was an old man,² but Whitchurch and Poyntz' son, Gabriel, felt it safer to flee as had the other printers or distributors of protestant literature like John Day, Rowland Hall, Hugh Singleton, Richard Jugge and Nicholas Purfoot. When these men returned, they continued in their profession of printing, which no doubt profited from the new ideas which they had brought back with them from the continent, for Paris was famous then, as it is now, for

1) Reg.Ho. Letters and State Papers 1543-79 f.41, License to Hickman and others, Feb. 1565/6. See Appendix I p.lxviii.
2) Strype's assertion that Grafton later fell into indigence (cf.D.N.B. VIII 312) has been found to be true, for an original letter has been found from Grafton to Cecil, undated, but endorsed in a later hand "Richard Grafton's Bill". (Brit Mus.Lans.ms.107 f.158): It begins: "Right honorable in most humble wise, yor poore orator Richard Grafton beseecheth the same (i.e. Cecil) to have pitie and compassion of him beyng at this present in poore estate, and by misfortune fallying downe a payne of steyles, iii yeres past brake his legg in iii peces whereof he hathe lyen ever sithence and yet is not hable to go the length of his house."

its book-binding and its fine printing, whilst from Strasburg were issuing the magnificent new maps of Ptolemy. Thus in 1559 Edward Whitchurch, upon his return, again set up his press in London, entering into some form of bond with Archbishop Parker which no doubt concerned his printing of licensed protestant literature.¹ John Bodley, that "princely merchant", as he is called by Fuller, appears to have become interested in printing only whilst he was in exile, so that, with William Williams, he helped with his liberality to establish a printing office in Geneva in 1558, and upon his return to London he was granted a patent in 1560 for seven years to print the Genevan Bible.² But other merchants or their families had been forced into exile, because, like Bodley who had helped to finance the Western Rising, they had endeavoured to prevent Mary's accession. Thus Thomas Offley, whose youngest brother Hugh followed Dudley in exile, and John Withers, who had three sons in exile at Geneva, had both signed the letters patent limiting the crown to Queen Jane in March 1553/4.³ But

1) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Chartae Miscellaniae IV 18.

2) Cal. S.P.Dom. 1547-80 XV 22.

3) It is possible that Richard Proctor, another London merchant found in Geneva in 1558, was the brother of John Proctor, executed for assisting Stafford in 1557. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 262.)

such actions were done probably more by reason of business or because it was politic, and although Henry Withers entered the church upon his return, and his brother Stephen had had printed his translation of Calvin's "Institutes" by Rowland Hall in 1561 - with which, no doubt, he had occupied his exile - for the most part such merchants returned to their counting houses, when Mary died, solely to continue their trade, and were content to leave ecclesiastical affairs to others. It is true that the older men, like John Abell, who must have been living in semi-retirement, kept up a steady correspondence with the continental reformers, but the younger merchants quickly turned their attention to business, which, from the way it was undertaken, must have been planned previously in case they should ever be permitted to return. Thus in 1559 Richard Springham submitted proposals for the encouragement of silk manufacture in England,¹ and in 1563 Thomas Heton endeavoured to procure the establishment of Emden as a rival port to Antwerp. The feud between the merchants in the latter port and those in England was a long-standing one, and may have contributed to the various reasons which had driven so many different classes of men into exile;

1) Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 VIII 32.

for, throughout the later years of Henry VIII and during the reign of Edward VI, there are frequent references to be found of complaints made by the envoys and ambassadors of the Emperor against some of those Englishmen who later fled abroad.¹ There is little doubt that much of the rivalry was caused not only by the exigencies of competition, but also because of the assistance rendered to Tyndale and Joy - who were in that part of Europe working upon the translation of the New Testament - by so many of the English merchants, and , as one merchant wrote home to Cromwell in 1538:

"All thes lowe cowntreys here be moste earnest wythe the bysshope of Rome and his tradytions."²

And so some of those with reforming sympathies: the Wilfords, the Hammonds, the Bodleys and William Beavoir, the Guernsay merchant, all of whom had suffered persecution and confiscation of goods by the Emperor's soldiers, upon their return from exile, set themselves to arrange a more friendly port of disembarkation than Antwerp which held such unhappy memories for them. Therefore, in 1563, Thomas Heton, one of those who had

1) Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Galba BX ff. 90, 99. 202, 207, 209, 292-3, 310.

2) Ibid. f. 90. Thomas Tebold to Cromwell and cf. Cotton. m. Cleop. E V f. 351, A foreign merchant expelled from Antwerp "for setting forth of the Newe Testament in Englishshe". Cal. Sp. Papers XII 92, Emperor to Renard, Feb. 1553/4; and Ibid. X 555, 612.

helped to finance some of his pauper fellow-exiles, endeavoured, as Governor of the merchants, with Grindal's help, to obtain concessions for his friends to trade with the continent by way of Emden. Somehow the scheme failed, and this no doubt contributed to Heton's subsequent straitened financial circumstances ten years later.¹ One merchant at least, like certain ecclesiastics in exile, struck up a friendship abroad that was to serve him well upon his return. Peter Willyes, an apothecary from Devon, placed by the Privy Council under recognizances of £500 for his good behaviour before his flight, must have found difficulty in rebuilding his clientele upon his return, so that in 1565 he seems to have approached Edward Tremayne, once an exile and a cousin of Sir Francis Drake, who in turn recommended him to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who like the Tremaynes, had fled to Paris after Wyatt's rebellion.² Willyes appears to have turned to importing wine as a livelihood and Tremayne, as deputy butler of Devonshire was anxious that he should be encouraged to land it in Devon for the sake of the revenue it would bring

1) H. J. Hessels *Ecclesiae Londino - Batavae Archivum* II Letter no. 69 Grindal to Utenhove Feb. 10th, 1563 and C. H. Garrett op. cit. p. 183.

2) Dasent *IV* pp. 410.

to himself.¹ A considerable quantity of french wine was yearly imported into England at this date and it is not surprising to find another exile, Harry Smyth, forced to turn to this trade for a living also.²

The case of Richard Langherne is a more fortunate one, for he seems to have been a rich man even in exile, and upon his return chose to enter the ministry rather than continue his old life as a merchant. Thus, as we have seen, he was ordained deacon and priest in March and April 1560 by Grindal, and subsequently became Vicar of Edmonton, Essex.³ His career under Elizabeth is in strong contrast to John Johnson, a merchant exiled from Northamptonshire, and like Willyes, already bankrupt before his flight, for upon his return he seems neither to have continued in his business, nor to have proved conformable in matters of religion. Indeed he is one of the few exiles who allowed himself to become embroiled in the disputations of the "novi oratores" of which Sandys wrote to Bullinger in 1573, and which nearly all the exiles agreed were too

1) Cal. S.P. Dom. Addend. XII 48, Tremayne to Throckmorton. An interesting light upon tax-farmers is shewn in this letter when Tremayne says that the first year he made £120, "when £30 might satisfy the Exchequer."

2) Cal. S.P. Dom. Addend. 1566-79 p. 54.

3) C. H. Garrett, op.cit. p. 215.

schismatical to be either politic or constructive. Thus, during the struggle for the discipline in which Cartwright and Travers were so hotly engaged, we learn that Johnson had been intimately concerned not only in Travers' plan to arrange that certain ministers from Northamptonshire should challenge the Bishops to a disputation, but also in the scheme for assembling seditious Conventicles.¹

Now that the Catholic danger was over the struggle lay, more openly and with less distraction, between the extreme puritans and the authors of the Elizabethan Settlement. In the beginning both sides had wanted to conserve individual liberty from the attacks of the Papacy, but whereas the puritan and sectary had grown up who desired only individual liberty, those in authority wished to preserve some form of corporate church life within the realm as a whole. Thus Bishop Aylmer said: "Are we not the Queen's servants? And is not

1) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Chartae Miscellaneae IV 190. Johnson gave evidence at Travers' trial and so cannot be the puritan preacher John Johnson of whom the Mayor of Leicester writes to Huntingdon in April 1586 as being dead and begging that Travers be made preacher in his place. It seems likely, therefore, that the John Johnson who did give evidence is he whom one would also expect to hold similar views - i.e. the exile who at Frankfurt in 1556 registered as of Glapthorne, Northants - (M. Bateson, Records of the Borough of Leicester III p. 226.)

the surplice the livery which she hath appointed to be worn? And do you think she will be content if we refuse to wear it?"¹

And thus began the struggle between the puritan and the supremacy, typified by Hooker who endeavoured to justify the latter by proving the identity in England of Church and State, and who finished by saying, "Ecclesia est in Episcopo".² Whilst in Scotland, the Lords of the Council began to discuss with the Privy Council the method of "repairing the decayed face of the church and true religion therein professed by restoring the Bishops to their wonted integrity".³ So began the gradual evolution of the theory of Divine Right drawn out to replace the magic once held by the catholic massing priest and used to fight catholic and puritan alike. But although they had shewn the way, the Marian exiles were concerned little in these discussions; by the turn of the century, of course, nearly all were dead, but even in the beginning they had never approved of any form of separatism. This perhaps was because they were old enough to have been brought up in an England still catholic, when religious toleration

1) Brook, Lives of the Puritans, London 1813 I p. 433.

2) Richard Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity VII v. 2.

3) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.1.11. f. 186 Copy.

was hardly thought of and the idea of "nationality" was new and more important than individualism; thus few were sequestered and their unquestionable loyalty is shewn by their presence in almost every executive and judicial sphere of Government. It was their misfortune that the second generation was often found to be more intransigent than the first.

C H A P T E R I I I

THE NORTHERN PROVINCE

During the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there was little reason why the religious aspect of life within the Northern Province should be disturbed. Those who lived there had always been predominantly Catholic and the countryside was in many places inaccessible so that even under Edward VI the new reforming ideas had made but little advance. Those who did find cures and who later went into exile upon Edward VI's death, were few in number and gained their appointments rather by reason of the death of their predecessors than because of the latter's sequestration. Such reformers were Thomas Cottessford, presented to the prebend of Apesthorpe, Robert Horne, presented to that of Bugthorpe and William Turner to that of Botivant; all these vacancies occurred because the previous incumbent had died.¹ After Turner's voluntary resignation, he was succeeded on August 27th 1552 by Laurence Saunders, later burnt as a martyr at Coventry for offences committed during his incumbency of All Hallows, Bread Street, London.² During the

1) York Dioc.Reg.Act Book I ff.206v, 199v, 181v, respectively Botivant, curiously, has no geographical situation at the present day; and no documents exist to prove its whereabouts although the prebend still exists at York.

2) Ibid.f.201v.

minority of the Duke of Suffolk, his rectory of Settrington was in the hands of Edward VI, and upon May 7th 1550 Robert Wisdom was, by his patronage, instituted to that living.¹

There were, however, very few from the North who fled upon Mary's accession, because there were few who might be likely to take exception to the advent of the old religion. Indeed, ^{throughout} amongst all that great jurisdiction only 59 livings are found to have changed hands, and of those seven were voluntary resignations, some of which were undertaken after only a very short incumbency. Robert Horne, for instance, appointed to his prebend in April 1552, voluntarily resigned it on October 15th, after a tenure of only six months.² Cottessford was deprived on May 19th 1554, - the same day that Saunders voluntarily resigned from his canonry - whilst Wisdom was deprived for marriage on September 30th following.³

But if Mary's accession made slight difference to the clergy in the North, it might be supposed that the accession of her sister would create considerable disturbance. This, however, did not occur, and, broadly

1) York Dioc. Reg. Bishops Reg. 29 f.37v and Bonds of Institution R IV B.C. 57 & Act Book I Diocese of York f.187.
2) York Dioc. Reg. Bishop's Reg. 29 f.48.
3) York Dioc. Reg. Archbishop's Register V Sede Vacante 1299-1554 ff.690r, 694v.

speaking, for the reason that the Marian Archbishop, Nicholas Heath, being deprived of his office in 1558, the See remained vacant until 1561, when he was succeeded by the exile, Thomas Young, who proceeded with great caution. There had been no great outbursts of mob iconoclasm such as London had seen in the first few months of the new reign, which might have caused ill feeling in the North just as it did in the English capital, and Young wished, evidently, to maintain such peace as he found when he arrived in York.

It is true that the Articles which he enforced upon his clergy during his first episcopal visitation were generally more protestant and anti-Roman than those published eighteen months later in 1563. This is especially true of Articles 9 and 13 which respectively state:

ix. "That the Masse wich was accustomed to be said of prests was not instituted of Christe but patched together by many Romish Bushops. And that it is not a sacrifyce propiciatorye for the quicke and the deade."

xiii. "That iustificācon by faieth onely is a most certeyn and assured doctrine of x'xen (i.e. Christian) men."¹

But upon the other hand there was an article which shews how much the new Archbishop was striving to keep in check the more extreme "puritans", and to prevent them

1) York Dioc.Reg.VIA. Visitation Book ff.2-3, A full transcript and comment will be found in App.II at the end of the

from obtaining office within his See. Article 15 states:

"That the Worde of God doth not fforbydde the Regiment or rule of Wemen wch muste by obeyed accordynge to the ordinnce of God."

There is no doubt that this was directed against such violent controversialists as Knox and his fellow exiles, Goodman and Ponet.¹

Indeed, in one respect, the Archbishop shewed himself willing to admit a greater compromise than did those who were ultimately responsible for the final settlement in 1563, for Thomas Young is careful to omit condemnation of Communion in one kind only. Also the fifth article imposed during Young's Visitation stated that the character of the ministrant of the Sacrament makes no difference to its efficacy, which is a Catholic belief and reappears in the Thirty Nine Articles of 1563. So that there were few priests who felt that they could not accept these articles, and the submission of nearly all was obtained during the first Episcopal Visitation, whilst the Ordinary Visitors seem to have confined their enquiries to a large extent to the fitness of local

1) The Act Bk. - York Dioc. Reg. VII A 2 f. 26v - classes Harding's and Ponet's and Cocclaus' Books together as being forbidden.

schoolmasters for their profession,¹ doubtless as a consequence of the "Assurance of Supremacy Acts". This was passed by the second parliament, and enlarged the number of classes required to take the oath of allegiance demanded by the Act of Supremacy and which now included all lawyers and schoolmasters, besides the original clergy and state officials.

Therefore there was no disturbance for several years, and when it came it was not, curiously enough, from the Catholics, but from a band of returned exiles who had come together under Bishop Pilkington at Durham. Parker, forced by political events to aid his government in seeking Catholic sympathy abroad, issued his Advertisements and called for a review of all preaching licences issued prior to April 1st 1565, although Young had begun to scrutinise the licences of those within his Province in April the previous year.² Parker's Advertisements, however, called for the wearing of surplices and silk hoods, and to Sampson and Humphrey and others in the South, the surplice was popery, and was what they called "insidious",³ that is to say, it appeared to them to be a portent of the Counter Reformation and they felt bound

1) York Dioc. Reg. RVI AI. Visitation Book 1561-66, passim.

2) York Dioc. Reg. Act Book II Diocese of York f. 33v.

3) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. VIII f.45.

to refuse to conform. Consequently Sampson and thirty-seven others in London were sequestered, whilst in York, in July of that year, the Visitation Book of the High Commission contains almost the first threat of deprivation under Elizabeth entered in those records. The cause was the non-wearing of cope and cornered hat by a minister at Hull.¹ Nine days later, on August 5th, William Whittingham, Dean of Durham and an exile like his Bishop, was also threatened with deprivation for wearing a round cap, a gown but no surplice, and for administering the sacrament without a cope,² and for a while the Commissioners were forced to indulge in a concentrated inspection of such nonconformers. Those former exiles who were summoned at this time for offences concerning vestments are all, without exception, from Durham. This is very significant when it is recalled that Bishop James Pilkington was himself a former exile, and as such he seems to have had great sympathy for such nonconformity, for three of those summoned subsequently brought letters testimonial from him to

1) York Dioc. Reg. Act Book High Com. 1566-7/8 f. 21v. although a few previous cases of nonconformity in the matter of vestments are to be found earlier. For example Ibid. Act Book 1561-4 f. 105.

2) York Dioc. Reg. Act Book High Com. 1566-7/8 ff. 27, 28.

present before the Commissioners at York.¹

The next to be summoned after Whittingham were the Bishop's brother, John Pilkington, and Robert Swift, one of two brothers formerly in exile.² Pilkington confessed to the Articles objected against him and especially:

"that he hayth minstryd often and syndrie tymes wthout ayther surples or cooppe in his p'she Church of Easington and in such apparell as is specyfied in this Article. And in no other Churches."

Swift, while admitting the truth of many of the Articles objected against him, said:

"that he nev'r minstryd the Comunion (i.e. without the correct apparel). And therefore he belevith the contents of this article not to be trewe. And he nev'r receyved the Comunion sittinge but knelinge."

The cases dragged on throughout the Autumn and Winter, until the Spring - chiefly because the malefactors did not present themselves before the Commissioners when they were sent for -.³ Finally, on February 18th 1566/7, the three were called before the Commissioners

1) Ibid. ff. 119 and 120; May 26th 1567, these three were William Whittingham, Robert Swift and the Bishop's brother, John Pilkington. The Bishop's Will requested that he be buried "wth as fewe popishe ceremonies as may be or vaine cost" (York Dioc. Reg. Bishop's Reg. 31 f. 11r and v.)

2) Ibid. ff. 41v and 43.

3) Ibid. f. 54r 64r Nov. 3rd. Whittingham and Swift, summoned, did not appear and were pronounced contumacious, f. 64r and v, John Pilkington 54v.

in the afternoon¹, the Archbishop himself being present. It is recorded that Whittingham and Pilkington had been summoned three or more times, and had only been reached by means of attaching the summons upon the stalls of their Cathedral pews and also "super hostiis" of the said Cathedral. This means that they must have ignored, not only the first or mandatory citation of the court, but also the second or public citation, which would have been issued from the pulpit there.² That is to say, they had been as obstructive as was possible, and the normal procedure would have been to pronounce them contumacious in court and so excommunicate. That this did not occur is a sign of the great leniency with which they were treated throughout.

Robert Swift, however, did attend, and the court reminded him of the oath of conformity which he had made upon the feast of St. Andrew last. He was therefore ordered to return upon March 17th to hear sentence of deprivation passed against him. He was also warned that all three of them, whether they appeared or not on that date, would be deprived nevertheless. Their cases were postponed, however, until March 18th, when

1) Ibid. ff. 69, unnumbered, subsequent folio and 70-72.

2) See H. Conset, Practise pp. 27-35, London 1700 ed.

it is recorded that all of them had conformed¹ so that they were not, after all, deprived.

Indeed, the only exiles who suffered deprivation at this time were Thomas Lever and William Birch. The latter had accompanied Lever into exile, and was his brother Ralph's predecessor in the rich living of Stanhope,² Durham, so that they were firm friends. When Lever appeared before the Court on March 29th 1567, he offered recognisances of £100 that he would present himself there again on April 17th, Robert Swift and John Pilkington standing surety for the same, either of them to the sum of £40, further proof that this brand of nonconformity in the North was confined to Durham and also that those concerned were prepared to stand together. Thomas Young was again in attendance at the session of the Court which pronounced the sentence of deprivation on May 10th and which also ordered them to keep within one Reynard Fawke's garden "upon the Backsyde thereof" in York, until permitted to leave.³ Both received this permission upon August 1st and the 11th respectively, but both were told that they were to present

1) York Dioc. Reg. Act Book High Com. 1566-7/8, ff.83v and 8

2) York Dioc. Reg. Act Book High Com. 1576-80 ff.32,33,37,38

3) York Dioc. Reg. Act. Book High Com.1566-7/8, ff.116,133, 134v.

themselves again in some twelve weeks time.¹

Consequently Lever presented himself as requested upon November 3rd; it is very likely that he had travelled over from Durham in the company of Whittingham, Swift and John Pilkington, for these three appeared upon the following day and sought to be dismissed from the surveillance of the court. This freedom they did not, however, obtain until August 2nd 1568, although Birch was released from its jurisdiction the previous December.²

Broadly speaking, therefore, it may be seen that the authorities in the North behaved leniently towards the Vestiarian nonconformers at this time, shewing a desire to keep a watchful eye upon them rather than to adopt the severe policy of deprivation. Indeed the majority of those examined by the Commission in the early years of Elizabeth's reign are shewn, by examination of the records, to have been mainly persons of consequence within their neighbourhood, who by refusing to abnegate their old Catholic religion were likely to set a bad example in their district. To begin with, therefore, the records are concerned primarily with Knights of the

1) Ibid. ff. 116, 117, 133, 134.

2) Ibid. ff. 155, 159 and Act Book High Com. 1568-9, f. 8.

shire and local squires and charges are confined mainly to flagrant cases of absenteeism from church. On the protestant side there are a small number of cases which deal with violent iconoclasm.

This leniency can no doubt be explained by the peculiar composition of the Commission and by the nature of its officers. The High Commission in York seems never to have contained any great staff of civilian lawyers and laymen as did its counterpart in the South. Indeed it appears from the first to have become almost entirely a further court of the Archbishop, annexed by that Primate as an additional court of his own, and filled with his own men. For those who presided were usually ecclesiastics, aided occasionally by a Justice of the Peace or an alderman of York, and, to begin with, the Court often took cases out of the Consistory Court, although there seems to have been no special system of removal.¹ The two churchmen who presided most frequently over the Court in York are John Rokeby and Thomas Lakyn. The former was he who served Henry VIII so ably over the matter of the divorce. He served a long time in the Cathedral at York, for it is now possible to place

1) For example, York Dioc. Reg. Act Book High Com. 1569-70 f. 127v although, of course, laymen were coopted on occasion, see Act Book 1565 ff. 31 and 33v.

the date of his death more accurately than did Le Neve, whose provisional suggestion of some time before December 10th 1573 - hitherto the only record - has proved to be remarkably accurate. On November 20th he and Archbishop Grindal transacted certain business in the Court of High Commission, but he did not preside subsequently over the court upon the same day although he had done so upon the two previous sittings, and even on this occasion the clerk has begun to write his name as one of those present, but has crossed it out. This date may therefore mark the date either of his actual death, or if he did not die immediately, of the beginning of his last illness, for upon December 10th his successor was appointed to a canonry and prebend in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Southwell, by reason of Rokeby's decease.¹

Thomas Lakyn, like his master the Archbishop, had been an exile during Mary's reign, so that it is not surprising to find that the Commission was inclined to look rather favourably than otherwise upon other reformers, who not only must have echoed their own views, but who also had shared exile with them ten years previously.

1) See D.N.B. XVII p. 151, and York Dioc. Reg. Act Book High Com. 1572-4 f. 179 and Act Book 111 Institutions f.37.

So that, whatever Archbishop Parker might have ordered, the Commission in York acted in a lenient manner towards those in the Northern Province, whilst after the Rebellion of the North in 1569, their attention was chiefly concerned in eradicating popery and prosecuting Catholic traitors.¹

In 1570 Young was succeeded in his Archbishopric by another exile, Edmund Grindal, who was translated from the Bishopric of London, for Parker did not consider that he was "resolute and severe enough for the government of London." This opinion was no doubt strengthened when Grindal extended his sympathy and protection to the dissenting Plummers Hall congregation, on whose behalf he intervened in order to alleviate Parker's proceedings against them for nonconformity and separation. Grindal himself found his translation no hardship, for he wrote to Cecil in 1570 that he had no pleasure in persecuting such persons and now he was going to his new See to undertake the more congenial task of rooting out Romish superstition.²

1) York Dioc. Reg. Act Bk. High Com. 1568-9 f. 59, et passim. It is interesting to find that the Commission for the year 1574 contained among its 69 members, not only Whittingham and Swift, but also the former exiles James Pilkington, Edmund Grindal, Matthew Hutton, and Thomas Lakyn. P.R.O. S.P. 12 CXIX no. 60.

2) Parker Soc. Grindal Remains I 325.

And so in May 1571, he began his first Metropolitan Visitation for which he issued his own Injunctions, refusing to allow those Articles which had been drawn up for the Southern Province.¹ Although the Archbishop's policy was a mild one, this was the first time that the Catholic majority in the North had been systematically attacked since Elizabeth's succession and the records of those indicted as a result shew very plainly how numerous the favourers of the old religion were in the North, and how easily they were able to avoid persecution for it.² Under many entries in the Act Book for this period, it is recorded:

"Non certum fuit de execution(e) process(us)."

That is to say, discovered by the Visitation, those indicted were yet able to hide sufficiently quickly to escape presentation of the Attachments issued by the High Commission Court at York, to whom their recusancy had been referred, so that in many cases their recusancy went unpunished.

1) Ibid. p. 125-155 and York Dioc. Reg. Bishops Reg. 30 ff. 126-131.

2) For example, York Dioc. Reg. Act Book High Com. 1571-2 ff. 81-93, contains, amongst other entries, "two roving papistes", nine "disguised papistes lurking in Merrington Deanerye", five more "lurking in Leyland Deanerie", fourteen more described as "clerici", "lurking in Amondrens (Amondernes Deanerie", three men married "after the popyshe maner".

Of a certain number of those from Cheshire it is recorded:

"Remittitur hęc cā (causa) Epo et Commiss(ariis) Regiis Apud Cestria(m) etc."

One can only suppose that Grindal wished to ascertain for himself just what strength of Catholicism existed in his See; any other construction of these entries makes it impossible to see why, if there were Commissioners at Chester, the recusants were not summoned before them in the first place.

It is not unexpected that, so far as can be deduced from an examination of the bare records entered into the Act Book at this period, there is not one entry which concerns nonconformity by one of advanced reforming views. Indeed Protestants occur but seldom in these records, although the name of Thomas Cranmer, the late Archbishop's son who, as a minor in exile, was committed to the care of his uncle, occurs for some unspecified demeanour and he is ordered to make purgation in seven parish churches. Furthermore, he was indicted for not attending church, so that there is no doubt that he had relapsed into recusancy.¹

Grindal himself made it his business to appoint to

1) York Dioc. Reg. Act Book High Com. 1572-4 ff. 147, 153, 163, 167, 169, and Ibid. 1576-80 ff. 9v, 43v, 173v, 234.

cures as many reformers as he was able, and in many cases such presentations were unpopular, particularly since they were doubtless instituted in order to aid the Archbishop in his scheme for rooting out Romish superstition. One of these men so appointed was John Mansfield - once an exile in Geneva - but in October 1572 his parishioners protested, led by George Rokeby, whose brother Robert had been recently requested to "make diligent searche in his (own) house for copes Vestements Images unlawfull bookes and other massinge stuff whatsoever".¹ Mansfield's parishioners, who sued him before the High Commission at York, were sent rudely away, but not before being told that their curate at Malton in Yorkshire "shall remayne and serve as curat there according to the effect of his licence", and also that, if they wished to question his right to tithes they were "not to meddle in the same at all in this Court. But referred the same to the Comon lawes of this realme"² - a most discouraging judgement, since tithe questions, though more often settled in the Consistory Court, were not infrequently heard in the Court of the High Commission.³

Throughout the reign, there occur brief references

1) Ibid. 1571-2 ff. 163, 182.

2) Ibid. 1572-4 f. 6v.

3) For example, Ibid. 1576-80 f. 24v, 217v.

to wandering Scots who have come South with the dual purpose of obtaining some form of livelihood and at the same time ^{of preaching} ~~determined~~ to preach the pure Word of God to their backward neighbours. It was not to be expected that they might care to apply for licence to preach before they began their activities, and this omission, therefore, constitutes the usual complaint against them. Thus in July 1564:

"Md, that lres was directed to the bailif and church-wardens of Bridlington to inhibit Andro Oliphant a Scotghman not to medle with teaching any scole without license".¹

Such another is recorded at Bridlington in 1589, this time he is a preacher, by name Laurence Withers, and possibly related to the three brothers of that name, once in exile in Geneva, and therefore it is more likely that he came from the South.² He is:

"a meare stranger here in the contry not knowne to be a Minister, and not licensed to preache wthin the Dioces of York.....He hath answered the churchwards that he had no license and asked them what license Peter and Paull had and said further that he wold preache ther who soever spoke against it. On St. James Day last in tyme of divine service he refused to come to heare publick prayers and went into

1) York Dioc. Reg. ms. R VI A I f. 84v.

2) There was, for instance, a Laurence Withers, who, in 1544, received letters patent from Henry VIII granting him the manor and rectory of Lockington, Cambs. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 6822 f. 35.)

the felds and ther catched doves with a nett."¹

Sometimes, however, these men managed to settle themselves, at any rate for a time, as incumbents, and again the majority are found to be Scots.² Of such company are John Willock, once an exile and also four times Moderator of the General Assembly, and his son Edmund.

On December 3rd, 1572, Edmund Willock M.A. was collated to the rectory of Hawton, near Newark, by Archbishop Grindal, although the right of presentation actually belonged elsewhere. However, the patron, Francis Molyneux, by leaving the living vacant for more than six months, had forfeited his right, so that Grindal took the opportunity to present one whose views were in sympathy with his own. This move cannot have been what Parker or the Queen would have approved of; indeed his successor Sandys issued in his injunctions an order that churchwardens were not to admit any minister without the sanction of the Ordinary, a move which shews how much the influx of wandering preachers increased during the

1) York Dioc. Reg. R As ff. 4-10, Bridlington, on the East Coast harboured another Scot in 1589 - Robert Blackwood (York Dioc. Reg. R As 4/13 Cause Papers.) It would seem therefore that they came South by sea.

2) See J. S. Purvis, Tudor Parish Documents in the Diocese of York, Camb. 1948 p. 139.

reign. Grindal, however, rather favoured such men than otherwise, but his action was rescinded by a writ which Molyneux secured from the King's Bench, dated June 21st 1574. This stated that Willock, having been summoned to London was, by his non-appearance, pronounced contumacious and so deprived.¹

The case of John Willock is, however, more confusing. Upon the same day that Edmund was presented to Hawton, John, described as a Doctor of Divinity, was licenced to preach during the Archbishop's pleasure,² and while there is no record of this licence being revoked, as in the previous case, it is clear that he was not at this time, as has been suggested, rector of Loughborough in Leicestershire.³ For the fact that father and son both received official sanction upon the same day rather suggests that they had but recently arrived in England, so that John Willock, after his final term as Moderator in 1568-9, must have remained longer in Scotland than has been suggested.⁴ It has also been thought that John Willock retained his rectory of Loughborough, presented to him in the reign of Edward VI, throughout the reigns

1) York Dioc. Reg. Institutions Act Bk. 111 ff. 18r, 58, 59.

2) Ibid. f. 18.

3) Scott. Fasti Eccles. Scot. I p. 50.

4) Ibid. I p. 51.

of Mary and Elizabeth, although he himself, during this period, had been in exile in Emden and subsequently resident in Scotland, a matter which would make his continual tenure under Mary and Elizabeth most unlikely. Indeed, he must at some time, probably during his exile, have been deprived, for upon March 8th 1572/3, another was presented to that living because of the death of the previous incumbent, Thomas Blackburne.¹ But he must have regained his living, for he died there on December 5th 1585, and in view of Sandys' injunction mentioned above, it is likely that he entered upon his incumbency during the Archbishopric of Grindal. For the latter was prepared to go to considerable trouble in order to further the advance of the new religion in his province, and found these itinerant preachers of great service to him in this task. It was perhaps difficult to recruit strangers from the South to that type of country.

One recusant, John Westby, upon July 11th 1573, was ordered to remain within seven miles of such places as "Mr. Chrofer Goodmā and Rōbte Rogers preachers or either of them shall appoint" for the space of a year, being allowed home only for fifteen days in each.

1) York Dioc. Reg. Institutions Act Bk. 111 f. 25.

half year.¹ This is significant because Goodman, already personally unpopular with Elizabeth by reason of his vitriolic pamphlets issued during his exile, had been deprived for nonconformity by Bishop Vaughan early in 1571 and in April was forced to recant all his published opinions before the High Commission at Lambeth.² In June of the same year he was again examined by Archbishop Parker and forbidden to preach. In August he returned to Chester, after which there has been no known record of him until 1580. It is clear from this entry, however, that he had retired to the North to preach and, moreover, had obtained a licence to that effect in Grindal's See in spite of his sequestration by Parker; an action which again shews clearly how Grindal favoured the more radical men frowned upon by authority and also how the High Commission in York could act independently of its counterpart in London.

On occasion, however, Grindal found those in London could be of assistance to him, for upon January 15th 1572/3, John Townley of Lancashire, a recusant, was ordered to present himself within forty days at the house of his half-brother Alexander Nowell, formerly

1) York Dioc. Reg. . Act Book High Com. 1572-4 126v.

2) Strype, Annals, II i 140 1822 ed.

an exile and now Dean of St. Paul's, and thence to live with him for a further forty days together "or at severall tymes oneles shorter tyme shall suffice for the satisfaction of the said John Townley in matters of religion wherein he standeth in doubte".¹ When Townley returned in October he said that "in dede his beinge with Mr. Nowell hath done him good"; this was no doubt true for Nowell was a famous converter of recusants, and his name was said to be on the list for assassination should the Jesuit plots succeed.²

But Grindal's interests were not confined solely to matters within his own jurisdiction; he also kept a stern eye upon the Mayor and Alderman of York, so that, on November 15th 1572, he wrote to them deprecating "the rude and barbarouse custome mainteyned in this citiethat yerelie upon St. Thomas Daie before Christms two disguised p'sons called Yule and Yules wief should ryde thorow the citie verey undecentlie and uncomelie Drawinge great concurses of people after them to gaiseto the prophanyng of that Daie appointed to holie Uses and also wthdrawethe great multitudes of people

1) York Dioc. Reg. Act. Book - High Com. 1572-4 f.51v.

2) Ibid. f. 148, 159 and Ibid. 1576-80 f.80, and Strype, Annals II ii 357.

from devyne service and sermons";¹ he therefore ordered it to be stopped. A similar order was made upon May 27th 1576, the year in which Grindal, upon translation to Canterbury, was succeeded at York by a fellow-exile, Edwin Sandys. This latter injunction is directed to the town of Wakefield in order that there should be nothing in their Corpus Christi plays "wherein the Matye of God the father, God the sonne and God the holie ghoste or the Admīstration of either the sacraments of Baptisme or of the Lords Supper be counterfeyted or represented or any things plaied wch tende to the maintenaunce of superstition and idolatrie.....".² Indeed, from now on, the records are full of recusants indicted for papistry, ballad-mongering, for importing popish vestments and for not attending church. By now there was a statutory fine which was frequently enforced and Catholics were indicted in batches of sometimes twenty or more at once, whilst special local and resident juries were empannelled whose duty it was to assist the ecclesiastical authorities to root out popery by reporting malefactors at regular intervals, or when requested.³ Therefore, even had

1) York Dioc. Reg. 1572-4. Act Bk. High Com. f.41 and 1576-80 f. 107.

2) Ibid. 1576-80 f.20r. This is doubly interesting since it is one of the last known references to this play.

3) York Dioc. Reg. Act Bk. High Com. 1580-85 f.14 Jury at York ff.16,18 Jury for the Liberty of Ripon, f.22 Jury for "Lang-balghe, Byrefurth and Allertonshire", f.34 Jury for Nottingham

Sandys been so inclined, his courts would have had little time to devote to the persecution of extreme and violent protestants who were thus able to live unchecked until after the Armada was defeated.

But if the resident juries did not present puritan malefactors to the Commissioners, it does not by any means follow that they did not exist. Such juries had been appointed to assist the High Commission in uncovering Catholic recusants and priests only, who, by reason of the connivance of the whole parish, incumbent, churchwardens and parish alike, had succeeded in retaining in hiding images and Catholic vestments, unknown to the Visitors.¹ Puritan nonconformers were, therefore, left untroubled by the High Commission, but the Ordinary Visitations, Episcopal Visitations and otherwise, nevertheless contain numerous references to those who refuse to wear the surplice, or to undertake the perambulation of their parishes during Rogation Week, as commanded by

1) For example (York Dioc. Reg. R.H. 7 in a box labelled "Mr. Hudson's Office") in March 1584/5 certain churchwardens were presented to the High Commission from the deanery of Harthill as being "negligent in leveinge the forfature of thes wch absent themselves frō the churche upō sondays and holye days." Two more were indicted on a similar charge, and another pair were "admonished to appeare for thei ar negligen in shewen ther minister the names of theis wch ar absent from dvine service upōn sondays etc." See also ibid. R.H.8 a letter from a resident jury at Beverley with their presentments.

the Injunctions. In the records of the Visitation of Chester, for example, occur twenty-eight such presentments for the year 1590¹ ranging from minor cases where the parson is recorded as a malefactor who "doth but some tymes were the surplesse",² to flagrant cases where the incumbent has not done so for twenty years. Of Manchester it is recorded that George Holme, the minister, is presented for refusing to perambulate, whilst none of the curates wear surplices.³

This same visitation uncovered an interesting group of Catholic nonconformers at Hawkeshead, consisting of the late Archbishop Sandys' own relatives; John Sandys, excommunicate, had not been to church for twelve months, and Christopher had not communicated for twelve months.⁴ What the Archbishop himself would have thought of this may be deduced from an extract from his Will, which is very long and, like many others at that time, full of theology:

"Fourtely concernynge rites and ceremonies by politicall constitucons aucthorished amongst us as I am and have bene p'swaded that such as ar now sett downe by publique aucthoritie in this Church of England ar no way either ungollie or unlawfull but may with good conscience for

1) York Dioc. Reg. VI A 12 passim.

2) Ibid. f. 64, Peter Shawe, Parson of Bury.

3) Ibid. f. 60.

4) Ibid. f. 42v.

oder and obedience saike be used of a good Christian.....Howbeit as I do Easeliē acknowledge our eccliasticall pollicie in some pointes may be bettered; so do I utterlye mislyke even in my conscience all such rude and indigested platformes as have bene more lateliē and boldeliē then either lernedliē or wiseliē p'ferred tendinge not to the reformacon but to the distruction of the Churchē of England. The p'ticularities of both sortes reserved to the discrecon of the godliē wise, of the latter I oneliē say thus, that the state of a small private Churchē and the forme of a learned christian kingdome nether would longe lyke nor can at all brooke one and the same eccliasticall governement".¹

This was the voice of authority, Sandys had vigorously pursued Catholicism, save, it seems, amongst his own family who were left for his successor, John Piers, to bring to order; but he was, like many of the old leaders, just as prepared to prevent puritan nonconformity and its consequent separatist tendencies, in order that the Church of England settlement might be preserved from both sides. If this lack of support was disastrous to the later reform movements in the South it may readily be imagined that it found little soil whereon to flourish amongst certain Catholic sections in the Northern diocese; whilst, as has been noted, a careful watch was kept in

1) York Dioc. Reg. Bishops Reg. 31 ff. 103-5; Will proved Nov. 26th 1588 in Chancery, Court Book Chancery 1585-95 f. 181. A copy with autograph signatures of Sandys and others on every page may be found in a box marked "Mr. Hudson's Office" York Dioc. Reg. R. H. 76.

order to prevent any wandering presbyterian from North of the Border disseminating radical opinions from that quarter. The followers of the Reformed Faith, therefore, were never a large body at this time, and, although the more conservative were discreetly fostered by authority, the movement was never more than sporadic. It was small because the effort was made in a terrain strongly attached to the old religion, and, by its wild nature, perfectly able to continue its old practices in comparative safety; indeed there are certain districts in the province at the present day which boast that they have always been Catholic, and consequently imply that the Elizabethan settlement never affected them. The more extreme reformers, therefore, aroused hostility, not only from the ecclesiastical authorities, but also from the inhabitants of the countryside which they were endeavouring to convert. Its sporadic nature arose mainly from lack of fresh blood to keep it at its old momentum, so that, apart from the original entry at Durham and a few bold spirits elsewhere - mainly along the East Coast, by reason of infiltration from itinerant preachers and schoolmasters who arrived by sea from Scotland, and also in the Midlands, where the movement was just beginning to take hold upon the district by the end of the century - there was no general acceptance

of the doctrine; a fact plainly illustrated by the clear division of the country during the Civil Wars.

CHAPTER IV

SCOTLAND

The history of the beginnings of the Protestant ideas in Scotland bears a very marked resemblance to that in England; for there are to be found the same threads of Lollard heresies, of early exile or court favour, according to the rulers' sympathies, and finally, the same unwillingness as Elizabeth shewed during the corresponding period in England to adopt any definite religious attitude.¹

In the early 1520's Murdoch Nisbet, adopting Lollard views, was forced to flee abroad. There he translated Wycliffe's "New Testament" into vernacular Scots, and, about the year 1522, added a prologue.² This latter was mainly Luther's preface to his own New Testament, and, as such, shews that the Lutheran attitude had its adherents in Scotland also at an early date.

Other publications came into Scotland from England, of which country A. F. Pollard has written³ "It may be broadly asserted that Lollardry never quite died out

1) Scottish Hist. Review I pp. 260-273 T. M. Lindsay.

2) Scottish Hist. Review I pp. 260-261.

3) Thomas Cranmer p. 92.

in England till it merged in the new Lutheran heresies of the sixteenth century.....It is certain that the Reformation had virtually broken out in the secret bible readings of the Cambridge reformers before either the trumpet call of Luther or the exigencies of Henry VIII's personal and political position set men free once more to talk openly against the monks....."

Of Scotland at this time John Rowe wrote¹ "But as for the more particular means whereby many in Scotland got some knowledge of God's trueth, in the time of great darkness there were some books sett out, such as Sir David Lindesay his poesie upon the Foure Monarchies,Wedderburn's Psalmes and Godlie Ballads, chaungeing many of the old Popish songs unto godlie purposes; a complaint given in by the halt, blinde and poore of England aganis the prelats preists, friers and others such kirkman.....This was printed and came into Scotland." Indeed, as T. M. Lindsay has said: "It is not too much to say that almost every incident concerning Scottish Lollardry which has come down to us from Scottish can

1) John Rowe "Historie of the Kirk of Scotland". Wodrow Soc. publication p. 6. See the author of the History of Church and State in Scotland 1560-1619. (Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow Misc. ms. fol. 9 the preface (about 1540.)) "Ye knowlege of God did wouderfullie increase partlie by reading partlie by brotherlie conference."

be illustrated, explained and enlarged from continental sources.¹

But one can go further than that, for it is not too much to state that as the Lollard heresies in Scotland were but a part of those elsewhere in Europe,² so was "Protestantism" but a direct successor to Lollardry in Scotland, and, by deduction, to that in England too. At the trial of the Kyle Lollards, thirty articles were objected against them in 1494, which not only go a long way to anticipating the position of the later reformers, but even in some respects go beyond it. In these articles it was denied that the Pope had any power to bind and loose which power was given only to St. Peter, to whom the Pope was no true successor. It was also denied that the Pope had any power to remit the pains of purgatory, while it was stated that indulgencies were deceitful and images and relics were not to be worshipped; transubstantiation and the sacraments were denied and simony condemned. Bishops blessings were counted as of no value, and the marriage of priests allowed, whilst

1) Op. cit. p. 266. This, of course, is not surprising when one considers that there was a continuous stream of Scottish students to English Universities during Wycliffe's time - e.g. in 1365, there were 81 Scottish students at Oxford -.

2) Cf. John Knox, History of the Reformation I p. 7 ed. W. C. Dickinson 1949.

it was asserted that the King had no business to adjudicate in such matters,¹ all of which opinions were adopted by the later reformers.²

And so the movements for reformation grew, sometimes receiving favour from the rulers in Scotland, and sometimes suffering persecution from them, so that its leaders were forced to flee to the continent. Thus Sir John Borthwick, returning to Scotland from France, where as a young man he had served in the French army and risen to be lieutenant of the King's Guard, obtained favour at the court of James V, whom he endeavoured to convert to Lutheranism. This action, coupled with the fear that his uncle, Henry VIII, was also bent upon obtaining James' backing at this time, earned Borthwick the enmity of Cardinal Beaton, who had initiated a period of protestant persecution. Borthwick, charged

1) See Ibid. p. 7, articles 5, 12, 18, 13, 26, 32, 1, 2, 7, 14, 19, 20, 22, and 9 respectively. Also D.E.Easson, The Juridical Review XLVIII p. 124-28.

2) Similar Lollard beliefs may be found set down in various centuries, so that there is no suspicion that such articles were engineered by such later reformers who wrote histories and who might wish to be assisted by favourable propaganda. Cf. Annales Henrici IV Rolls Series 1866, Historia Anglicana of Thomas Walsingham (R.S. 1864). Brit. Mus. Harl. mss. 425 f.8, 421 ff.24,26, Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing ms. 111 216 ff.108-111. These references cover a period of over 200 years; and it is no wonder that Latimer's confession of March 11th 1531 is almost identical with any one of those cited above. (Harl. ms. 425 ff. 13 and 14.)

with propagating English heresies in Scotland, replied: "In this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scots, that they had cast off the yoke of Antichrist; the others had not. Idols were worshipped by both nations; the profaning of the Supper and Baptism were alike unto them both; wicked superstition reigned on both parts, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable hypocrisy".¹ Borthwick fled to England, and in his absence, was burnt in effigy at St. Andrews for having in his possession a copy of the heretical book "Unio Dissidentium", a work asserting justification by faith, and for possessing a copy of the New Testament in English.² And so, under the guidance of Cardinal Beaton, until his murder in May 1546, which was the occasion for the first sermon that Knox ever preached, in "St. Leonard's Yards", and subsequently under the auspices of Mary of Lorraine, James V's second wife, the persecution

1) Cattley's Foxe V 613.

2) St. Andrew's Kirk Session Register I p.98 and 99, and Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow Misc. ms. fol.9 preface f.1 (the ms. folios are unnumbered). Amongst other things Borthwick was condemned as a heretic who: "Conformiter ad veteres errores Joannis Wycleif et Joannis Hwss haereticorum in consilio Constantiensi condemnatorum, affirmavit praedicavit Ecclesiasticos non debere possidere nec habere possessiones aliquas temporales imo nec etiam habere jurisdictionem aut auctoritatem aliquam in temporalibus". (Bannatyne misc. I 257.)

went on,¹ and other reformers were forced to flee. Some, like John MacAlpine, or Alexander Alane, were already in England, having been invited over by Cromwell or Cranmer from Germany where they had sought refuge earlier. John Bendall and John Rough soon joined them there, whilst upon the Castle hill in Edinburgh certain men were burnt, all of whom professed adherence to Lollardry.²

Thus began the period of exile abroad for both English and Scots, for when Mary Tudor ascended the English throne then those Scots who had taken refuge South of the Border were forced into flight once again. Most of them went to the continent, although William Harlaw, a native of Edinburgh, who had gone into England about the year 1534 to be ordained under Edward VI, and who, in 1551, had become a King's Chaplain, chose to seek refuge in his native country in 1554. He began to preach publicly in Edinburgh in 1556 and

1) The author of The History of the Church and State in Scotland, 1560-1619. (Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow Misc. ms. fol.9, preface f.1), writes of Borthwick's effigy, burnt at St. Andrews: "After ye arrivall of Marye of Lorraine, second wyfe to King James the 5 Capitane Jn. Borthwick was brunt in figure for a spectacle and triumphe to hir welcome". (Mary landed in June 1538 at Balcomie, Fife, so that the report of this incident appears here to be placed too early.)

2) J. C. Carrick "Wycliffe and the Lollards" p. 272.

the following year was excommunicated, but he survived his troubles and in 1560 became minister of St. Cuthberts, Edinburgh.¹

It has been suggested that this flight, principally at the beginning of Mary Tudor's reign, although, of course, it continued in a lesser degree throughout her rule, was an organised exodus.² It is very doubtful whether this is true with regard to England, and it is certainly not the case with the Scottish exiles. Just as heresy had originally spread from the continent, so had the later forms of protestantism also. As we have seen, some Scots such as Alane or MacAlpine,³ had already been abroad to Germany, whilst Paris was a favourite University with Scottish students. Indeed, it is difficult to decide, in the case of at least one Scot abroad at this period, whether he travelled to Paris in order to escape the persecution at home, or whether it

1) John Knox, History of the Reformation, ed. W. C. Dickinson 1949 I pp.118,125,161. Jas. Scott, History of the Lives of Protestant Reformers pp.241-244, 55. H. Scott, Fasti Eccles. Scot. I p.93 and Nat.Lib.Scot. ms.32.6.41 f.8.
2) Miss C.H.Garrett, Marian Exiles, Introduction passim.
3) MacAlpine's wife's family, Macheson, originally from Sutherland, whose sister married Miles Coverdale, had all come to England in 1534, and it was there that Agnes Macheson and MacAlpine met. (New College Edin. Ph.D. Thesis 1937, Bredahl Petersen pp.58 and 59, quoting from latin copy of the funeral oration in Joh.Pistorius Brevbog Gl. Kgl. Saml 3078,4.)

was just a normal migration undertaken in the course of his studies. He was Thomas Craig the lawyer, later of Riccarton. In 1552 he went as a student to St Andrews University, but did not remain there the usual four years, receiving his B.A. in 1555, whilst most of his contemporaries did not graduate M.A. until 1557. He then went to Paris to study law, where he mixed with other reformers, and, as he himself implies, participated freely in their discussions, for, of the burning question of choosing Kings by election he remarked: "I remember to have heard this question much tossed and disputed at Paris when I was a student there".¹ At any rate Craig returned a converted Protestant. There must have been many Scots in Paris with whom Craig would mingle, for there was always a contingent of two or three hundred Scots in the Scots Guard in France at this time.²

During Alane's previous exile, spent mostly at Wittenberg, the ship which carried him to Germany in 1532 had encountered a storm and was driven off her course to

1) Life of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, P. F. Tytler 1823, pp.2,5,8, the difficulty is to decide whether he had already imbibed protestant ideas before he left Scotland, or whether like Thomas Maitland in 1563 (cf. Scots Hist. Review IV pp. 274-275) he acquired them in Paris.

2) Francisque - Michel, Les Eccosais en France I p.453 and p.453 note 2, and 275-281, and Spottiswoode, History of the Church of Scotland 1847 ed. p. 197.

Malmoe in Sweden. Here Alane met a colony of Scots merchants who were settled there, kept their own preacher, and who had already adopted the reformed religion.¹ There was indeed a steady trickle of such merchants from Scotland to the Baltic countries, who had resolved to settle there. Difficult as it is to decide whether all such colonies had accepted reformation doctrines as had that at Malmoe, it can be asserted that during these years of persecution the number of emigrants increased. Thus in 1555 an Edinburgh man, Captain Dawson, was licensed to carry five merchants to Danzig, and another skipper, James Foular, six to that same city.² In short, therefore, the Scottish exiles went abroad to anywhere

1) Th. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, p.165.

2) Edinburgh Burgh records II 217f. and pp. 193,197,203,313. (Th. Fischer, op.cit.) from the records of Danzig (Kgl. St. Archiv. Danzig D XXIII and XOVIIA Burgher-bucher) gives the names of 18 merchants who settled in Neuenberg, Danzig, or Frankfurt-am-Oder, between the years 1555 and 1559. Since only six exiles altogether are recorded for the year 1555, and of them not one settled in Danzig, it is obvious, from the licenses granted to Dawson and Foular that many more went abroad than those whose names are recorded for us. John Elder, an exile at this time and a native of Caithness, presumably a reformer, for he speaks of the "proud papisticall Bishops" of Scotland in his plan for the union of the two kingdoms, addressed to Henry VIII about two years after he sought refuge there in 1540, chose to remain in London, for on January 1st 1555 he had printed a "Letter sent into Scotland", celebrating the marriage of Mary and Philip, in which he styles his residence as the city of London (Bannatyne Misc. Vol. I p.4 note 3 ed. D. Laing). His liberty under Mary he explains himself, for he says, that he has endeavoured to give offence to neither side!

that chance or economics dictated, the merchants to the Baltic trading cities, where they knew other countrymen would welcome and assist them; the scholars to which ever school of reforming ideas they preferred.

Upon their return they met the same difficulties and the same indecision of government as their brethren in England encountered. Mary Queen of Scots, like Elizabeth, did not at first institute any proceedings that might have been considered as expressing either approval or disapproval¹ although she herself continued to celebrate mass in her household as she had always done. Then presently there arose in the protestant ranks a difference of opinion over the best method of obtaining recognition of their religion in the country as a whole. The question was simply one of how much obedience was due from the people to their sovereign, and presently the dangerous dogma was voiced by Douglas, Rector of St. Andrews, who summed it up in these words: "If the Queen oppose herself to our religion, which is the only true religion, the nobility and states of the realm proessing the same may justly oppose themselves

1) Cf. Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 6.1.20 f.61 - from Justiciary records 1561. William Balfour had railed hotly against Communion, but no penalty was exacted by authority.

to her.¹ As in England, the moderate reformers were still pressing for satisfaction by constitutional means - that is to say, through the Parliament, as this implies -.

Naturally, the question of Bishops was discussed, and some were found to be for them - as representatives of legal authority - but some opposed them; for as early as 1560 there had been a few hot-heads who would brook no denial. When the Confession of Faith was read that year in the Parliament in August "some of ye ministers wer standing on yr feet reddy to answer incaise any man had impugned ye articles of ye sed profession".² And so, with a split in their ranks, the power of the protestants was doomed to decline, whilst former allies were driven into estrangement.³

In that same year of 1560 the ministers had also explained their views in forthright terms to the Great Council of Scotland: "We will not", they said, "binde your honours to our judgments farther then we are able to prove by God's plaine scriptures".⁴ They meant,

1) John Craig's "Shorte Summe of the Whole Catechisme", ed. T. G. Law, Edin. 1836. Introduction p. xxv and Bannatyne Club, Bannatyne Memorials - p. 121.

2) Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow Misc. ms. fol. 9 Chapter 1 f.1r.

3) Such men were Moray and Lethington - see W. C. Dickinson Knox History of the Ref. I Introduction, p. lvii.

4) John Rowe, Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. David Laing, pp. 15 and 16.

therefore, to control government according to their own interpretation of God's word, and in 1578 went so far as to propose in the Assembly that "none vote in Parliament in the name of the Kirk but with commission from the Kirk".¹

The Reformers in Scotland, because of their closer association with the Genevan form of service and discipline, were naturally more extreme in outlook than their contemporaries in England. For this reason Christopher Goodman, so unpopular with Elizabeth because of his "Superior Powers", had preferred to return from the continent to Scotland rather than to England. In July 1560 he was appointed to an official position in the theological College at St. Andrews, where he remained more or less continually until 1565 when he returned to England upon Thomas Randolph's advice.

Indeed there was a steady movement of reformers from the North of the Border into England during Elizabeth's reign, as there had been under her father's and her brother's rule there. The route by the East coast seems to have been the favourite road into England, although many preferred to sail down the coast by sea, disembarking in ports as far apart as Bridlington and

1) Ibid. p.64.

Ipswich. A few of these men chose to enter the English Church legally, but there were many more who did not, and who wandered about in the North as "hedge-priests" baptising, marrying and preaching wherever they went and often using forms of service peculiar to themselves. These men were not of course welcomed, but neither were many of those who came more openly into the North of England from Scotland, so that efforts were made by authority in the Marches to prevent their ingress; but in other quarters much was hoped for from their assistance.

Thus the Separatist congregation of Plummers Hall, seventy seven of whose members were taken prisoner at one of their Conventicles in March 1568, eagerly sought the support of John Knox. But Calvin had early realised the necessity for stern discipline in Geneva and he had inculcated similar tenets into the Genevan exiles from England and Scotland who settled there. Therefore, when the prisoners were canvassing for the support of those in Scotland, Knox replied:

"Our brethern do give hearty thanks for your gentle letter written unto them; but to be plain with you, it is not in all points liked".¹

Yet, if the Church in Scotland held no brief for

1) Quoted by D. E. Nelson, Ph.D. Thesis, 1939, New College, Edinburgh, p. 47.

such as these in England, they were nevertheless prepared to consider a liaison with other schools of thought less violent. There is little doubt that it was with some such idea in his head, that John Willock, with his son Edmund, arrived in the Northern Province of England in the last month of the year 1572. The Archbishop at that time was Edmund Grindal who had been in favour of a further reformation in England ever since his return from Germany, and who, for that reason, had been despatched from the capital to the Northern Province because Parker did not consider him severe enough for the Government of London. Edmund Willock received presentment to the living of Hawton, near Newark, whilst John was licensed to preach at the Archbishop's pleasure.¹ The latter had been a member of the first General Assembly, and had been subsequently chosen moderator for the years, 1563, 1564, 1565, and 1568.² Here, therefore, was one who had held the highest authority in the church of Scotland come to assist one of the two Archbishops in England in the work of Reformation. Such a rapprochement at this time might well have had the

1) York Dioc. Reg. Institutions Act Bk. III ff. 18r, 58, 59.

2) He had also had a major share in drawing up the Articles of 1565 which the Assembly presented to the Queen in Scotland for reformation in the Scottish Church (See James Baron, p. 216 below)

most far reaching consequences, coming as it did in that year when the English Reformers were making their greatest effort through parliament to obtain a further advance in the Elizabethan Settlement.

Grindal frequently acted upon his own initiative during his tenure of office in York, however, and there is little doubt that his present course of action was wholly unofficial. From the absence of further records, it is not known what happened to the preaching licence issued to the ex-moderator, but Edmond's institution to Hawton was promptly rescinded by a writ from the King's Bench. The Queen had no intention, therefore, of permitting such an entente which might well have ended by displacing both herself and her cousin from the throne.

But there were still others who were eager to see a partnership between the neighbouring countries. Therefore after the first endeavour had been quashed from the Scottish side as schismatical, and the second had been vetoed by the English Queen, yet another attempt was made to achieve unity along the lines of an international presbyterian system, which was to cover the Low Countries, the Channel Islands, England and Scotland.

The first news of this scheme is when the English and Scottish Merchants in Flanders began to seek certain privileges for their House there in October 1577. In particular the English Merchants, in their petition, ask that they may be permitted to appoint a minister to their congregation there.¹ Two months later Laurence Tomson, Walsingham's puritan private secretary, wrote to William Davison, the English Ambassador on December 15th:

"John Furrier at his return from you requested me to provide some honest godly and learned man to be minister to our family and company there; that while you are there, they may not remain untaught and instructed (sic) in the way of our God, considering the nature of our rebellious hearts, which is to be given to evil even from our youth, and become as a field uncultivated, yielding nothing but weeds and brambles."²

After this puritan preamble, Tomson suggests that Davison should write to Charke, for the latter, he says, having been previously approached by the merchants upon this question, had already discussed the matter with him. Charke was a great advocate of presbyterianism, and he later assisted Cartwright, Travers and others in their Classical movement. Tomson adds that the negotiations between the merchants and Charke had broken off some

1) Cal. S.P. For. 1577-8 no. 394. Petition of English Merchants in Flanders.

2) Cal. S.P. For. 1577-78 no. 516. Tomson to Davison.

time previously, and although he does not say why, he implies that Charke may not have approved of their doctrines in the Low Countries, for he writes that if Charke does not "like your conditions I know of an honest Scotchman of you own name who I think will be very fit for you". This man was John Davidson who, having passed his exile at Geneva, was now settled in Great Woodstreet, London, but this matter will be discussed subsequently.

The Ambassador must have taken Tomson's advice and have written to Charke, for the secretary, writing again to the Ambassador on January 9th, says:

"I find Mr. Charke anxious for the enlarging of christendom, and if the company of our nation there testify, under their hands, their good liking, and desire to be instructed in God's truth and their choice of him, he will make ready and repair to them, as you appoint."¹

But Charke did not go in the end, for he became instead one of the preachers at Lincolns Inn, so that Travers was then approached by Henry Killigrew who had been the English Ambassador in Scotland in 1566, 1572, and 1573-5. In March 1578, therefore, Travers went

1) Cal. S.P. Dom. Add. 1566-79 vol. XXIII no. 3. This document has been wrongly dated in the provisional suggestion implied by its place in this volume of State Papers. (See A. F. Scott Pearson, Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, p. 171 note 4.)

"into the country to take leave of his mother and friends" and arrived in Flanders towards the end of April.¹ With him he carried a letter of commendation from the same Thomas Randolph who had advised Christopher Goodman about his return into England fifteen years previously. Randolph, a frequent ambassador to Scotland, was one who undoubtedly laboured to further the amity between the two countries in matters of religion. As early as 1561 he wrote to Cecil a long account of how he had contrived to present Queen Mary upon the first suitable occasion with a copy of Beza's Oration,² and now he hastened, with Henry Killigrew's assistance, to provide the two nations with their common pastor in Antwerp.

There is evidence that others in London also knew of Traver's appointment, for John Stubbes, the author of the "Discovery of a Gaping Gulf" wrote to William Davison on April 30th. In his letter he mentions Traver's journey, and makes the latter's arrival an excuse not to write his news at length, since the new minister will

1) Ibid. vol. XXV nos. 68, 73 and 79. Killigrew to William Davison.

2) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31.2.19 no. 157. Randolph to Cecil, Oct. 1561. copy.

be able to retail it in person.¹

In 1580 Travers returned home and his place was taken in Antwerp and Middleberg by Thomas Cartwright, who must have met Robert Brown frequently in the streets of the latter city, where the congregationalist, having been driven out of England, was endeavouring to build his new Jerusalem. During Cartwright's stay in the Low Countries, Melville was appointed Principle of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and, in the general re-organisation there, invitations were sent to both Cartwright and Travers offering them two of the proposed five new chairs at the Theological College.² Both invitations were declined, although probably for slightly different reasons. Cartwright obviously felt that he was too busy where he was to relinquish that post before he had had a chance, as Charke had put it, "to enlarge Christendom". Travers, who might possibly have come, was, it is considered, dissuaded by those whom he was preparing to leave and who were unwilling to let him go.

Travers had returned home to assist Richard Alvey, once an exile at Frankfurt and now a lecturer at the Temple. Alvey died in August 1583, having been ill,

1) Cal. S.P. For. 1577-8 no. 810.

2) A. F. S. Pearson op.cit. p. 195.

it seems, for a year or two previously, because the author of an unsigned letter - probably Anthony Bacon - writing from Beza's house in Geneva to Travers about this time could say:

"Good Mr. Travers; As I am verye sorye to heare of Mr. Alvey's indisposition as well for his as for myne owne sake, but especiallie in respect of many pore soules which therby doe want, or may peradventure be (skanned?) of the foode which he is wont to deliver unto them bountifullye and liberallye from the hand of the Lorde; so I reioyse greatlye that the temple enioyeth so faithfull a pastour as yourselfe....."1

Whatever their reasons, however, both Travers and Cartwright declined, and in this they made an undoubted mistake. The first overtures from England, from the Plummers Hall congregation had been rejected by Knox as too separatist, as were Brown's, who, possibly hearing of St. Andrew's invitation to Cartwright, had arrived in Scotland from Middleberg in the autumn of 1583. Willock's scheme, whatever it was, had been thwarted by official action from the throne, but at last a chance had come for the two nations to join together and work out a common plan for further reformation. Brown and others of similar persuasion were unlikely to prove of much assistance, but the organisation of Cartwright and

1) Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing ms. III 193 f.115. Undated copy.

Travers later became extensive, and, had it had promise of backing from Scotland, might well have succeeded, and in so doing could have assisted the Scottish Church in its losing battle with the Crown.

There were those in both countries who realised this at the time, so that one last effort was made by John Field, in London. He approached John Davidson, the minister at Liberton, Edinburgh, who was a cousin of the exile of the same name, who had fled to Geneva and returned to settle in London. This former exile, it will be remembered, was one of those who had been considered suitable for the post as minister to the English and Scottish Merchants in Antwerp five years previously and whose name had been put forward by the puritan Laurence Thomson, whose master had been in constant touch with Cartwright during his exile in 1572.

Unfortunately the records of this whole scheme, which seems to have lasted from 1577-1583, are very inadequate, so that one is only afforded a glimpse of the proceedings from time to time. Yet it is certain that the negotiations opened by Field at this time were part of the general plan, but, since he was so intimately connected with Cartwright and Travers in their Classical Movement now started in England, it is difficult to decide whether the

final negotiations were begun solely on his authority or not. It is very possible that his invitation to the Scottish ministers was issued with the consent of certain other leaders, perhaps even including Cartwright and Travers who may have realised their earlier mistake in refusing to go to St. Andrews. At any rate Field wrote to John Davidson at Liberton in July, 1582, as a friend whose acquaintance had been made the previous year in London, and whose sympathies might incline him to canvas support for the movement among his brethren in Scotland and particularly in the Assembly of April 1583. Field's letter is not extant, but from Davidson's reply it is certain that he had been endeavouring to secure the co-operation of this reforming leader in England during his stay in London. That is to say his action was yet a further attempt to persuade the English leaders to adopt the Scottish form of discipline, and to unite with them in an endeavour to obtain a better reformation in the Church. It was what many of both countries desired, if Davidson's letter be taken as a criterion.¹ But although this letter appears to have been well liked in England, the Scottish Assembly did not go as far as was suggested in it, and from what is known of the

1) This letter is printed in full on p. 95.

movement in England it is likely that Field and others demanded too much. Here indeed lay their greatest mistake, for the Assembly might have made a basis for alliance in 1583 much milder than that which was demanded as a price for their assistance in 1643. For then they required a compulsory presbyterianisation of England, which they would never have dared to demand in 1583; nor were they in a position to do so.

Had the scheme fructified, it is possible that it might have prospered at least until the danger from Spain was over. Indeed, the presence of Thomas Randolph, Henry Killigrew and possibly Sir Francis Walsingham through the medium of Tomson, in the negotiations which covered the Low Countries and Scotland, suggests that it was this danger which might have been the cause of the whole proceedings. But, ready though many were to seek such shelter from a Scottish alliance, it is doubtful whether it would have been suffered long in England, and might well have brought on the Civil War forty years earlier. For that country has ever fostered a spirit of anti-clericalism amongst its people, whether they be Catholic or Protestant, and this fact Cartwright and Travers were to discover when their Classical system failed for lack of support. At the same time, parallel

with this spirit, there always runs a certain amount of anti-foreign feeling, which accounted for the failure of the Catholic Seminaries at Douay and Rome, where the English students openly rejoiced at the defeat of the Armada. The chief grievance amongst the English at Douay had been that the Welsh Rector, Dr. Maurice Clenocke, had favoured his own countrymen at their expense so that they protested that they would not be a party to a scheme which seemed likely to impose Welshmen upon the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in England should the counter-reformation succeed in restoring Catholicism. At Rome, in the Jesuit College there, the English students had refused to practise certain regulations which they considered to be "un-english."¹ Similar feelings were no doubt entertained by the Puritans in England, so that, although it is not known why the Assembly, for their part, refused to go so far as Davidson had led those in England to believe, it is possible that they were not prepared to make a compromise on the terms which were likely to be required of them. Possibly they recollected how, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign when her marriage with the House of Hamilton was contemplated, the price of the proposed contract had

1) T. G. Law, *Conflicts of Jesuits and Seculars*, London 1889 introd. p. xxxi et seq.

been the introduction of the English liturgy and of the English Church constitution. In less than a dozen years David Black, minister at St. Andrews, speaking as one of the radical bunch which surrounded Andrew Melville there, condemned Elizabeth as an Atheist and said:

"Yat ye Religioun professit in Ingland was
but aine schaw of religion gyddit and directit
be ye bischoppes Iniunctions....."¹

These, and similar opinions, no doubt influenced the Assembly of 1583.

But, when, within a few months, the "Black Acts" of 1584 were passed in retaliation for the Ruthven Raid, the church in Scotland had no external support on which it might rely, and was forced into such a decline as took it many years to overcome. Of the Black Acts we are told:

"After that the King's Matie had finished
his Harangue in publique audience of the State
and comon people.....Arren the new made Chancell^r
followit: The kirke is dischargit to make any
conventio eithr publicke or privat. And ther
doctrine, controled the discretio of certaine
Bisshops apointed judges for yt effect having
power to deprive sic as they thinke not sufficient
.....The king is made hedd of the Kirke....."²

The tide in the affair of Scottish protestantism,

1) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 29.2.8. f. 109. Copy of letter James VI to unknown.

2) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 6.1.13. f. 31. 16 Century anon. account, and ibid. f. 37v, from a Report to Bancroft.

therefore, had begun to ebb, watched carefully from both sides of the Border. Indeed, the previous year Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had visited Whitgift and had returned, boasting to the King, at present under the influence of the anti-Presbyterian Earl of Arran, "of the disgrace he (i.e. Adamson himself) has procured to the Ministers who are fled, making the King believe their reception is such with them that they will be glad to be at home ere it be many weeks".¹ There was no longer any sanctuary across the Border for those in trouble.²

John Rowe, in his "Historie",³ speaks of "the decay of religion by the raretie and povertie of ministers", and all other reports do the same, for the nobility had ceased to support the Presbyterians, and we are told of the ministers of Scotland: "those that serve ther must bestow the better part of the yeare in suing for that small pention wch the gentlemen of the country can afford them whereby you have neither christing nor burring nor any divine service upon Sunday Wensday nor

1) Cal. Sc. Papers VII no. 236, Davison to Walsingham and Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 4007, f. 3.

2) Although a mutual arrangement to return malefactors from the laws of the Marches on either side of the Border had existed since 1568. (Brit. Mus. Cotton ms. Calig. C I f.99.)

3) Op.cit. p. 137.

thursday for halfe a year togither". As for their churches we are told: "It is a pittie to see them being full of water and mire and it were as good sit under a tree to here the Sermon as in them if it raine",¹ whilst on all sides "poperie and sin of all sorts growing daylie, and nothing done for restraining of either".² For James VI was in constant correspondence with Queen Elizabeth and also with many of her subjects, sounding men and opinions, preparatory to entering England, and ever mindful of the caveat "divide et regna".³ But the reformers in the two nations were divided, not only amongst themselves in each nation, but also those in Scotland tended to look with disdain upon the reformed church in England:

"St. Andrewes doctrine hath bein orthodoxe,
His discipline syncere, Religion sound,
St. George traditiones are not worth ane oxe
In lying legends onlie to be found."⁴

Such differences were not an asset at the Hampton Court Conference, were scarcely reconciled during the Civil

1) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 6.1.13 f.37. Undated but in a late 16c. hand, and in all probability this is from a report to Bancroft. The writer adds "I speeke this by experience".

2) John Rowe opcit. p. 143.

3) Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing mss. 365, 371, 372 which contain collections of original correspondence and some copies between Elizabeth and James VI and also James' letters to certain noblemen and others in England.

4) Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 45.2.2. ms. no. 39. Anon. "From a poet comparison St. Andrew and St. George". Contemporary copy.

Wars, and finally were the cause of failure for their party at the Restoration.

1. ALANE or ALESIIUS, Alexander. Ex-relig. (of Edinburgh).

Born Edinburgh April 23rd 1500. Died March 17th 1565.
(Dictionnaire Historique I p.155. P. Bayle Rotterdam 1720.)

The first to describe his native city in prose. When a boy, he fell down the Castle rock and his preservation, considered miraculous, was said to be due to a portion of Scripture which he wore round his neck. (Scot.Hist. Review XI (1914) p. 127-128) although he himself denied this miracle (Th. Fisher, Scots in Germany p. 165 ed. 1902). Educated at St. Andrews, becoming a Canon of the Augustinian monastery there, and hired to refute Patrick Hamilton's heresies in discussion with the martyr, he himself was converted and imprisoned in St. Andrews for a year. Being freed, he took ship from St. Andrews to Germany, but, meeting a storm, was driven into Malmoe in Sweden, (but then a Danish port) where he encountered a colony of Scots merchants settled there, who had already adopted reformation doctrines and who kept their own preacher. He arrived in Germany in 1532, and the following year reached Wittenberg, where he stayed until 1535, reading Greek and Hebrew. In that year he left that city for England, bearing letters from Melancthon to Henry VIII and Cranmer. He must, therefore, have suffered a change of heart at this time, and forsaken the School of Luther for that of Melancthon. (Hist. ms.

Com. Hatfield ms. I 51.)

In England he was invited to lecture at Cambridge, but, soon, giving offence, he left Cambridge for London, where he practised medicine for about three years. In 1540 he married, but upon Cromwell's fall, and after the passing of the "Six Articles", he fled once more with his wife and family (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 2618 f.1 Orig. letter Alesius to a patron), arriving at Worms some time before Nov. 6th 1540. (Th. Fisher, Scots in Germany p. 167 from Luther's Briefwechsel: Burckhard. Cruciger to Luther Nov. 6th 1540.) Melancthon, with whom he stood on very good terms, obtained for him a post as Professor of Divinity at Frankfurt-am-Oder, but he suddenly resigned it for reasons which appear in a letter written by himself to an unknown patron,¹ so that

1) In connection with Alesius' exile, there is extant an original letter from Alesius to an unknown patron, which has hitherto been unpublished. It is undated, and it is difficult to decide its date, but it seems likely that it was written between 1540-44, for it is addressed from Frankfurt and may indeed shew the cause of Alesius' relinquishing the chair of Divinity there:- The "illustrissimus Princeps" is presumably the Elector of Brandenburg "Salutem Dicit. Ago Vestrae magnificentiae summam gratiam clarissime domine patrone, quod et meae uxori Literas plenas humanitatis, et officiali nostro et ei pecuniam suppeditaret scripseritis in mea absentia, hoc beneficium maximi facio et inter alia quae Vestra magnificentia In me contulit vere summa, quaeque nunquam mihi e memoria excident, ascripsi, Agnosco enim me et hunc locum quem occupo per vos assecutum esse, et meum per vos stipendium auctum, et has quas inhabito edes concessas, quas etiam Una cum aliis facile me amissurum non dubitarem si/

Melancthon wrote to J. Camerarius "Alesius the Scot has left the University of Frankfurt and although he did so against my advice, some other position must be found for him". (Quoted in Th. Fisher, The Scots in Germany, p. 307 from Corpus Reform, IV 771. He suggests that it was written in Jan. 1542). In 1544 he became Professor of Theology in Leipzig, but in Edward VI's reign he again visited England where he was employed by Cranmer to translate into Latin the first liturgy of Edward VI (1549) for the use of Peter Martyr and Bucer (D.N.B. I 257, 1908 ed.). In 1554 he was present at Naumberg, in 1555 at Nurenberg, and at Dresden in 1561. In the latter year,

si me deseratis Imo nisi mihi ea servetis, et me defendatis, Audio enim ordinarium theologiae brevi venturum esse huc, et occupaturum has quas per biennium Incolui et qualiscumque ornavi edes; quod s̄ media hyeme cum parturiente muliere et infante non dum bimula essent querendae aliae edes, ad partum et mihi molestissimum, et puerperae admodum calamitosum esset Quare vos obnixi, et per Christum oro, ut mihi quid, in hac re sperandum, aut faciendum sit, significare veletis, ac etiam Iuvare apud illustrissimum principem ut vel has edes quas occupo, retinere aut s̄ cedere oportet, alium saltem pro hac hyeme nidum habere possum, Mitto Vestrae Magnificentiae Disputationes ad quas volente deo hodie post ortidium respondebo. Bene et feliciter, cum Vestris omnibus Valetate francofordie postridie nativitate (an insertion) Mariae (i.e. Sept. 8th.

Vester Alexander
Alesius".

(Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 2618 f.1. In this text all abbreviation and suspensions have been omitted.)

which was that in which there was held an Oecumenical Council at Trent, the Pope made every endeavour, presumably as an attempt at pro-catholic propaganda before the Council opened, to persuade Alesius to renounce his reforming views. In 1555 and 1561 he was chosen Rector at the University of Leipzig as a member of the "Saxon" nation. On March 17th 1565 Alane, or "Alesius the Wanderer", died in Leipzig.

2. BARON, James. Merchant and Citizen Burgess (Extracts Records Burgh of Edinburgh p.43.) (Of Edinburgh.)
Died 1569.

A friend of James Sym, at whose house Knox occasionally stayed. "James Barroun's wife, Elizabeth Adamson, before they were married, we are told: "delyted much in the cumpany of the said Johne". (Laing, Knox Works, History of Scotland I 246), and listened very carefully to all that Knox said, so that "at hir death she did expresse the frute of hir hearing". His second wife, Helen Leslie, outlived him and is mentioned in his Will, made on Sept. 21st 1569 (Laing op.cit. II p.322.). She died in 1579, having married a minister, James Betoun of Old Roxburgh. (Reg. of Testaments Edin. 1897 I p.164.)

Baron was one of the magistrates of the City of Edinburgh and filled the office of Dean of Guild from

Michaelmas 1555 to the same term in 1556, and again in 1560 and 1561 (Edin. Records Burgh Accounts II pp. 46, 91).

In May 1557 he and his friend James Sym were sent by some of the nobility with a letter to John Knox at Geneva.

At the first General Assembly held in Edinburgh, December 20th, 1560, James Baron and Edward Hope were the commissioners appointed for the town, along with John Knox as Minister. His name also occurs in the years 1562, 1565 and 1569.

In 1562 Bothwell used him as a messenger to Knox, saying that he wished to speak with Knox. Baron is described as "burges and then merchant of Edinburgh". The two met in Baron's own house. In June 1565 the General Assembly drew up certain articles - mainly through the medium of John Willock, Christopher Goodman (both exiles) John Erskine of Dun and John Row - which were to be presented to the Queen, "desiring her most humbly to ratifie and approve the same in Parliament". One of those who were chosen to present these articles was James Baron. (Ed. Laing, Knox, Historie of Scotland I pp. 267-8 and note, II 322, 484-86.) He died four years later.

3. BARON, John. Student, later ordained. (Of Edinburgh.)
Born Edinburgh 1537. Died 1568. (Fasti Eccles.
Scot. II p.378 and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms.32.6.4. f.86.)

It has been suggested that John Baron was a printer (C. H. Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, p.81) but I can find no evidence to substantiate this, either in Register House or the National Library.¹ He was, however, a son of Andrew Baron, and nephew to James, the friend of Knox (Laing, *Knox's Works* I 246), and when some of the nobility wished to invite Knox to return from Geneva James Baron and his friend John Syme were those chosen to act as messengers to carry the invitation. (Ibid. p.267-8 from *Knox's Historie of the Reformation*.) It was in such ways that John Baron came to follow John Knox to Geneva where he arrived, by way of Basle, in October 1557, being made a "resident" of the city (Fasti Eccles. Scot. II 378 and Garrett p.81 and ref.); in June 1558 he was made

1) Nat. Lib. Scot. mss. 16.2.21 and 22 contain an historical account of printing in Scotland from 1507-1707, and mention no printer by the name of Baron or Barron. In 1562 John Baron published a translation of "Ane Answer made the fourth day of September (1561) by Maister Theodde de Besza", printed in Edinburgh By Robert Lekprewik. This surely implies that he was no printer himself, and incidentally fixes the date of his arrival home in Edinburgh some time before the end of 1562 - Dickson and Edmund (*Annals of Scottish Printing* Camb. 1890 p.212) say that he returned in 1560 -. His admiration for Beza would, of course, furnish him with a further reason for choosing Geneva as his place of exile.

a freeman (Ibid.).

Some time after March 1560 Baron left Geneva - where he had been collaborating with others there on the Geneva Bible (C. Martin, *Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés à Genève au temps du Calvin* pp. 142 and 260). On May 1st 1563 he entered the parish of Galston, Ayrshire, at a stipend of two hundred marks per annum. (Fasti Eccles. Scot. III 39 and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 32.6.4. f. 71.) On Feb. 2nd 1567 he was translated to Whitehorn in Galloway at an increased stipend of 250 marks (Fasti Eccles. Scot. II 378 and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 32.6.4. f. 86). His wife was Anne Goodacre, an Englishwoman, and two of their children, John and Susan, were born abroad, the latter dying young in Geneva. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 81.) Anne Goodacre did not apparently enjoy the solitude of Whithorn, for not long after her husband had been installed there she ran away to York (the date of the birth of John implies a child-marriage), but she may have returned to him, for at his death he left a son Jehu and a daughter Marion, (Register House, Register of Deeds XIII ff. 270, 271), from which it would appear that their eldest son John, like Susan, had also died abroad.

4. BORTHWICK, Sir John. Gent. "of Cenerie" (Bannatyne Misc. I p.257, from an ms. Register of the Kirk of St. Andrews). Not, as has been suggested, in direct descent from the Lords Borthwick (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p.101) but son-in-law to William, fifth Lord, through his marriage to his first wife Margaret (Scots Peerage II p.109).

Died about 1570.

In his youth Sir John Borthwick served in the French Army, becoming lieutenant of the King's Guard. Sir Ralph Sadler during the years 1539 and onwards, mentions him often in this capacity, for by this time he had returned to the Court of James V, where he endeavoured to convert that monarch to Lutheranism. It is likely that his intimacy with Sadler, his attachment to Lutheranism and his familiarity with Sir David Lyndaay - whose satire of the Three Estates was presented about this time at Linlithgow (of which town Borthwick is said to have been provost - all contributed to earn him the dislike of the clergy and of Cardinal Beaton especially, who summoned him for heresy to St. Andrews on May 28th 1540. (Ms. Register of the Kirk of St. Andrews quoted in Bannatyne Misc. I pp. 253-263, and P. Lorimer, the Scottish Reformation Glasgow 1860 pp. 75,76.)

Borthwick thereupon fled to England, and in 1544 was fighting in the North in the army of Henry VIII; there, he was given a pension of 300 crowns per annum and in March of that year a further 100 crowns were presented to him as a reward, and he was sent by the Privy Council to the Earl of Hertford, to be employed as the latter might think fit. (Hist. mss. Com. Hatfield ms. I no. 119.) His local knowledge must have made him a valuable ally, for he was a native of Selkirk and Roxburgh, and in May he was travelling the Scottish borders as a guide to certain agents of Henry VIII. (Hamilton Papers Register House 1892 II pp. 245, 279, 395.) In 1548 he was still in the North, assisting Andrew Grey and Somerset in the Scots campaign (Laing, Knox Works III p. 420). In 1550 he was sent to Denmark as an ambassador from England and presumably as one whose religious views would prove acceptable at the Danish Court, to negotiate "for the better defence of the reformation against all opposers" and to suggest Princess Elizabeth's marriage to the Prince of Denmark.

Upon Mary Tudor's accession he remained in favour for a certain time. For in 1554 he was paid £40 as a reward from the Queen for some unknown service (Dasent V p. 48). However he fled in 1556 to Geneva, where,

with John Kelly, his page, he was received into Knox's congregation before July of that year, although he must have arrived some time before this since in February of that year he married in that city as his second wife Jane Bonespoir of Brittany (Sir J. B. Paul, Scots Peerage II p. 109, and C. Martin, Les Prots. Anglais réfugiés à Genève au temps du Calvin p.337 and C. H. Garrett op. cit. p.101). In 1561 he returned to Scotland to his estates, possibly through the favour of his nephew John, Lord Borthwick, with whom Mary Queen of Scots sometimes stayed, and who often was to be found at her court, until his early death (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31.2.19 ms. no. 132 Letter of Sadler and Croft to Cecil Nov. 5th 1559, and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 33.7.28 June 1567 (diary of Robert Birrell) and P. Lorimer, The Scottish Reformation p.76). It is possible, however, that he had returned earlier than this, and had stayed a while in England, for in December 1559 there is mention of him and how he was "all geven to talking of the scriptures" (Cal Sc. Papers I p. 278), as though he were but recently returned hot-foot from the feet of Calvin.

In the summer of 1568 it is likely that he is the person of that name whom, Mary says in a letter to Elizabeth, has been sent from one Queen to the other with

all the news of Scotland. (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. I no. 1181.) It is reasonable to suppose that Elizabeth had had him introduced to her, when still a princess, in 1550, whilst Strype actually asserts that this messenger and the exile are identical. (Annals I II, p. 559.) Borthwick appears to have attached himself to the suite of the Bishop of Ross upon his arrival in London, whither the Bishop had been sent as Mary's ambassador. At the inquiry held by the Commission to hear the Earl of Murray's accusations against Mary Queen of Scots, "one Mr. Borthuikie" was sent by the Bishop to require Murray's presence to testify in person to certain depositions brought before the Commission (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.1.11 f.123 "The Sessions at Westminster 1568"). Shortly after this, Borthwick returned to Scotland and died in St. Andrews about the year 1570, having served four monarchs.

5. COCKBURN, Alexander. Gent. (Of Ormiston) and the
Laird of Ormiston.

Born 1535. Died 1563.

Alexander was the eldest son of the Laird of Ormiston, whose lands, forfeited for his complicity in the murder of Cardinal Beaton, were restored to him by Queen Mary soon after Knox's final arrival from exile. (E. Muir,

John Knox p.90.) The laird himself had been banished in 1548, ostensibly for assisting the English invaders, but more probably upon religious grounds (McCrie, Life of Knox I p.163, 1814 ed.); it is not known where he spent his exile, but it is likely that he went to England.¹ In 1550 Adam Wallace, who had been the tutor at Ormiston, was burnt as a heretic on Castle Hill, Edinburgh (ibid. and Laing, Knox's Historie of Scotland I p.213), so that the religious views of the family were plainly protestant. Indeed other members of the family held similar views. Cockburns had served in the armies of Charles VIII and Louis XI, in the regiment of the Scots Guard in Italy. (Francisque-Michel, Les Ecosais en France, London 1862 I pp. 275-281.) John Cockburn, Captain of the ship "Michael" served Somerset and Andrew Grey during their invasion of Scotland. Later he worked for the Regent Marr and was known to Thomas Randolph in 1571, whilst Knox also mentions him (Register House ms. corresp. with England during the Regent Marr f.101, Marr

1) For in November 1559 the laird was sufficiently trusted by Sir Ralph Sadler to be entrusted by him with £1,000 for the "Lords of Scotland", who specially stresses his honesty in a letter to Cecil written on the 15th of that month. The money apparently was stolen by Bothwell who "lay in wait on purpose". (Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow ms. 45.2.3. ff.20-23.) (Copies of a letter from the Lords of Scotland to Sadler, Nov. 6th, and from Sadler to Cecil.)

to Randolph Aug. 1st 1572; and Cal. Sc. Papers I p.744 and II p.25 and Spottiswoode History 1847 ed. I p. 192).

Alexander, who was a pupil of John Knox (Laing, Works of John Knox 1846 ed. I, p.185-6) matriculated at Basle University in 1555 (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 357 from the Archives of Basle, Matrikel I, 1460-1568 f.194), but he cannot have remained there long, since he has not been traced elsewhere abroad, and in January 1556/7 an Alexander Cockburn stood surety for two persons that they should underly the law "at the next Aire" at Berwick (Register Ho. Justiciary Court Records, Court Bk. Old Series VII f.82, folios unnumbered).

In 1562 he was used as a messenger by Mary Queen of Scots to summon Knox to her palace in Edinburgh. (Laing, Works of Knox II p.331.) In 1563 he died at the age of 28. (Procs. Soc. of Antiquaries IV p.227.)

6. CRAIG, John. Ex-religious. (Of Aberdeenshire.)

Born 1512. Died 1600.

Since John Craig's father was killed at Flodden it is odd to find that he himself, after being educated at St. Andrews, went into England to become tutor to Lord Dacres children. But after two years he returned and entered the Dominican house at St. Andrews; however, a little while later, being suspected of heresy, and so failing

to gain an entry to Cambridge University, as he had hoped, he set out for Rome about the year 1536. Here he became a protégé and favourite of Cardinal Pole, who procured admission for him to a Dominican convent at Bologna, where he soon became Master of Novices. (John Craig, A shorte Summe of the Whole Catechisme, ed. T. G. Law Edinburgh 1883 Introduction pp. ix-xiii.)

Whilst a member of this House, he was converted to protestantism by a copy of Calvin's Institutes which he found, paradoxically enough, in the library of the Inquisition, and for which relapse he was imprisoned for nine months in Rome.

It seems that before his incarceration, Craig had been in the habit of tutoring the children "of a great man in Italy", in a small wood which was near that person's house. Here one day he was sitting instructing his charges, when a soldier "latelie at a battell", as the narrator puts it, and "carrieing up with his two hands his intralls", seeing Craig, approached him and besought help which was given him.

Craig was then cast into a dungeon in Rome for heresy, as we have seen, where he lay for some time in a miserable condition in a pit into which the Tiber flowed at every flood, so that he and his fellows were

frequently in water up to their waists. He was condemned to execution after a certain time, but Pope Paul IV died upon the very night before the execution was due to take place, and in the jubilee or interim between the two Popes all prisoners were released, and along with them, of course, John Craig.¹ This, however, was not without certain alarms, for, owing to the insignificance of their prison, he and his fellows were forgotten for some hours, and when they were at last released, it was only then realised that, owing to the repeated flooding of the river, their clothes were insufficient to cover themselves in the street. However, Craig made his way to a modest inn in a suburb, where his raggedness might pass unremarked, and there, to his terror, was accosted by the very soldier whom he had once succoured, and who was now a captain in the army of His Holiness. However, gratitude outweighing all else, the bedraggled heretic was given a sum of money with which he set out for France. Thus by devious methods, having once been set upon his way, the exile returned at length to Edinburgh, bringing with

1) His release, therefore, must have been the following day - August 19th 1559 -. The mob rioted and stormed the Court of Inquisition on the death of Paul IV, a thing which would tend to leave forgotten the prisoners in smaller dungeons within the city that night (Cal. S.P. For. 1558-9 p.514.).

him nothing but a dog, a purse, and some of the gold which that purse had once contained, brought to him, so Craig's wife repeatedly assured John Rowe, by that same dog which had attached himself to Craig as he sat hungry and forlorn by a covert side in France. (John Rowe, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, Wodrow Soc. ed. D. Laing, pp. 415-417, 457-462).

Impetuous as he was, John Craig's legal knowledge, which he had possibly acquired in an Italian University, was in great demand in the General Assemblies, although it was remarked by some that he "swayed over meikle to the sword-hand". (Bannatyne Club B. Memorials ed. 1836 p.253.) It was he who proclaimed the marriage banns between Mary and Bothwell, and he seemed in danger, from what his friends saw of him, of becoming concerned in Lethington's schemes, but during this period he found time to give part of his attention to his young relative, Thomas Craig, newly returned from Paris where he had been studying law. John acted as his tutor, and in February 1563 his protégé passed advocate, and many years later Sir Thomas Craig in his turn, gave his legal knowledge to the General Assembly, for in 1606 he became Advocate for the church.

In the Metrical Psalter published in 1565 John Craig

was the translator of fifteen psalms which appear there, and four years later, being exonerated from his share in the Bothwell marriage, he was elected Moderator. He held that office again in 1576 and in 1581; in the latter year his Catechism appeared, published by order of the Assembly.

By this time he must have lost much of his impetuosity, for in 1580 the King nominated him his own personal minister, "for whilk choise the Assemblie blessed the Lord, and praised the King for his zealle" (John Rowe op.cit. pp.41,57,68,87,142 and 145 (note)). At the age of eighty his faculties at last began to fail him, and in the General Assembly of 1593, it was proposed "in respect of Mr. Craig his decrepit age that they would put on the leet five or six of the discreetest of the Ministrie, that his Majestie may make choise of two of them to be his ministers in his houss" (John Rowe op.cit. p.152). And so, gradually failing, he finally died on December 12th 1600, leaving a wife and a son William and other children whose names are unknown. His wife's name had been Marion Smaill, whom he must have married upon his return to Scotland in 1560, for she survived him by some number of years, becoming a great friend of John Rowe, the historian of the Kirk of Scotland (McCrie, Life of Melville II p.70 and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 29.2.9. f.72.

Balcarres Papers).

7. FAITH, John. (or Fyfe) (D. Laing, Works of Knox 1846 ed. I p.527.)

Died 1562.

Little is known about this man, save that he accompanied MacAlpine to Wittenberg in 1540, where he went under the name of John Fidelis. He was appointed Pastor of the Evangelical Church of Liegnitz in Silesia, and subsequently received promotion to the theological chair in the University of Frankfurt-am-Oder in 1544, where he succeeded Alesius, so that it seems that both of them, unlike Maccabaeus, who remained a staunch Lutheran, enjoyed the friendship of Melancthon.

It would appear that Fidelis was married, for in the year 1555 there is recorded, amongst the students listed at Frankfurt-am-Oder "Joannes Fidelis, egregii doctoris...filius", who is presumably his son. (Th. Fischer, The Scots in Germany, p.313.) Indeed it is reasonable to suppose that John Fidelis had settled in that city with his family, for in 1551 he had been elected Rector of the University, whilst in 1556 Melancthon addressed a letter to him there in which he introduced another Scot, Lyne (see p. 238), to his notice as a man of learning and true piety. He died on March

28th 1562. (P. Lorimer, The Scottish Reformation, Glasgow and London 1860 pp. 120, 121 and note 1.)

8. HAMILTON, James or John. Gent(?) Later ordained (?)

Probably John Knox's servant, with him at Geneva, where he was enrolled as a member of the congregation on July 12th 1556 (C. H. Garrett, op.cit. p. 175 and ref).

His history otherwise is pure conjecture, for there are many of that name to be found at this time. Possibly he was the son of David Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who, appointed to the Priory of Blantyre on October 6th 1549, resigned that position on September 3rd 1552 (Fasti Eccles. Scot. III p.230).

In 1560 he was minister of Bothwell, Monkland and Shotts and in 1581 was elected commissioner of the Assembly for the consideration of cases of slander in Clydesdale, Renfrew and Lennox. He died in October 1594.

OR: He may be the John Hamilton to whom John Baron of Spittalfield, Edinburgh, in his Will of 1575, left to his servant of that name the house in which he then was, rent free for life. (Register House, Commissariat Edinburgh Wills III April 21st 1575.) Other members of the Baron family were well acquainted with Knox, it is not an unreasonable supposition that he had been recommended to this branch as a servant by Knox himself.

OR: Since we know that Knox was not infrequently a welcome visitor to the house of the Laird of Ormiston, this Hamilton may be he to whom Gavin Hamilton - presumably a relative in England - requested Thomas Randolph to deliver a "packett.....as is directed to James Hamilton of Ormyston" in 1580 when Randolph was ambassador to Scotland (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 30 f. 70). It would account for the acquaintanceship of these Hamiltons and Thomas Randolph if they were found to have been exiles together.

9. KELLY, John. Gent. Later ordained(?).

Probably the son of Bartholomew Kello, M.A., Clerk of St. Andrews diocese. (H. Scott, Fasti Eccles Scot. I p. 417.) As page to Sir John Borthwick, he was received into Knox's congregation at Geneva with his master in 1556 (C. H. Garrett p.203.).

The Justiciary Records Court Book (Register House Oct. 4th 1570) contain an account of "Mr. Jhone Kello, Minister of Spot, committar of the murthour of umquhile Margaret Thomessonne his spous; committed be him within his awin lugeing in the toun of Spot for the tyme be strangling hir with ane towale, upon the XXIII day of September last by past, before noyne. Sentence. For the quhilk he was adjugeit to doome pronounceit, to be hangit to the deid....."

Now, upon the scaffold this man made a confession, in which he attempted to justify his life before he committed this murder. In this confession he says: "And the treuthe is, that I my selfe had nocht only the testimonie of a trew preicher in the countries whair I did travel, but lykwayis of ane sinceir and uncorrupted conversatioune". (Bannatyne Club, Mems. of Transactions in Scotland, Richard Bannatyne pp,54-60.)

Remembering Borthwick's reputation, in 1559, of being one "all geven of talking of the Scriptures", it is possible, if this is indeed his page, that the two had each constituted themselves a species of itinerant proselytiser during their travels abroad, and not without success - if Kello's own testimony is to be believed -.

Upon his return Kello was considered, by the General Assembly of December 1560, "apt and able to minister", and in 1567 he was translated to the parish of Spot (H. Scot, Fasti Eccles. Scot. I p.417), which parish is very close to the lands of the Borthwicks, and especially to those granted by William, the fifth Lord, to Sir John Borthwick. He was hanged three years later.

10. KETHE, William. Student, later ordained (?).

Died 1608.

Appears to have resided in England before going

abroad to Frankfurt, Basle and Geneva, for in the Registre des Habitants of Geneva, he is described as a native of Exeter (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 204).

This is interesting, because at that time Miles Coverdale was Bishop of Exeter until deprived by Mary, and the two subsequently collaborated in the creation of the Geneva Bible.

Kethe remained in Geneva until 1561, most probably for the purpose of seeing through the press his metrical version of the psalms - of which there are 25 in the Scottish Psalter. In the same year he returned to England, and was at once instituted to the rectory of Okeford Superior in Dorset, which he retained until his death (Presbyt. Hist. Soc. Influence of Geneva Refugees on England. H. de Visne p.11.(reprint)).

In 1563 he was appointed preacher to the English Army at Havre, and in 1569 went to the "northe partes" as one of the preachers to the forces which were engaged in subduing the popish rebels. On both occasions he served under the Earl of Warwick, and it was whilst he was in the North that we learn of his imposition of the Church Discipline of Geneva upon the rebels. (Strype Annals II Bk. I Chap. 11 p. 102 1725 ed.)

11. KNOX, John. In minor Orders and preacher. (Of Giffordgate) 1505-1572.

No new facts have been discovered about this exile.

12. LINDSAY, David. Preacher. (Of Pittormie).
Born 1530. Died August 1613.

The revised edition of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ* lists David Lindsay's parents as Alexander Lindsay of Haltoun and Rachael Barclay of Mathers¹ (Op.cit. I p. 160 1915 edition, but see D.N.B. XI p. 1176 1909 edition which quotes the 1866 edition of the *Fasti* I p. 97).

But he was doubtless related to the Earls of Crawford in some degree or other for in January 1582/3 we find him standing as a cautioner and surety for Sir David Lindsay of Edzell² (Register Ho. ms. Register of Deeds

1) However, elsewhere (Nat.Lib.Scot. ms. 34.5.11. Art. no. 3 f.11) his parentage is given as "of Walter son to David Earle of Crawford and married a daughter of Ramsay of Clattie (i.e. Clatto) in Fyfe. Had a daughter Rachael married Mr. John Spotswood bishop of St. Andrews".

2) Another relative (see *Fasti.Eccles. Scot.* V 276) David Lindsay of "Pittarrye", was summoned by the Queen to appear before her Council on March 27th 1557, to give evidence respecting the seizure of certain church lands by Lord Glamys. (Cal. S.P. Scot. I p. 197). So far as is known, there seems no reason why he should not be the exile found in Geneva in September the following year (Garrett p.221) (See also Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.4 Book of Assignations Aberlemno. 1574, Lindsay of Pitairlie minister there.) There is no record of him attending the Council summons, and if he fled then it would account for his late appearance among the archives of Geneva.

XX 2 f.252).

David Lindsay, born about 1530, was educated at St. Andrews, and probably came under the influence of Knox, and that later convert, Winram, whilst he was there.

Upon his return from Geneva he was one of the twelve original ministers appointed in 1560 to the chief places in the Scottish Church, being assigned to Leith. Some while after this he was appointed Commissioner for Kyle (Nat. Lib. Scot. 3/1415, J. Inglis Index to Calderwood's abridged History of the Church of Scotland p.40), and in 1572 he is described as "Commissioner for the West". (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.5.11 Art. no. 3 f. 1.) At the same time, or a little after his appointment to the living of Leith, he also received that of the adjacent Restalrig, for in the year 1574 his stipend is listed for the latter, to be paid partly in corn and partly in specie. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.4. See Edinburgh, Leith and Restalrig (folios unnumbered)).

Meanwhile, he was rapidly making a name for himself; out of seventy-three successive assemblies his name occurs in fifty. In 1566 he had been appointed to revise the answers made by William Ramsay, a minister of St. Salvators, St. Andrews, to Bullinger, concerning the question of canonical vestments (J. Scott, History of the Lives of Prot. Reformers in Scot. 1810 p.217).

In 1569 he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly, and again for the years 1577, 1582, 1586, 1593 and 1597. (J. Rowe, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, Wodrow Soc. pp.38,60,99,150.) He was also a favourite at Court, and in 1582 was one of those appointed to attend the meeting in June between the Church Party and the Court (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31.2.19 f.3 "An Advertisement out of Scotland" 22nd June 1582), while between the years 1574 and 1580 - by which time it was still not yet done - he was appointed one of the overseers, as one likely to be approved by the King and his secret Council, to superintend the printing of the first bible in Scotland in English by the printers Bassandyne and Arbuthnet. (Dickson and Edmund, *Annals of Scottish Printing* pp.275-277 and *The Booke of the Universall Kirke* II 462 July 12th 1580.) Thus in 1584, when James VI was still contemplating the "Black Acts" in retaliation for the Ruthven raid, it was Lindsay who was appointed by the Kirk, as being "the minister whom the Court liked best", to induce the King to delay his assent (D.N.B. XI p.1177).

Although seized as he entered the palace gates, and subsequently imprisoned, he did not forfeit the King's favour, for in 1589 when James sailed for Denmark in October to fetch his bride, Lindsay was the only minister

whom the King took with him (J. Scott, op.cit. p. 226). He married them at Upsala, and, with Robert Bruce, crowned them at Holyrood in the following Spring. In April 1599 and November 1600 respectively, he baptized Princess Margaret and Prince Charles. This last act, therefore, forms a direct link between the embryo of puritan thought exiled at Geneva, and its greatest hour of life, when a King walked, one January morning in 1649, for the last time across St. James Park to Whitehall.

In 1600 David Lindsay was made Bishop of Ross and the same year admitted as a member of the Privy Council. (Reg. P. C. Scot. VI p.187.) In 1604, he was one of the Commissioners appointed to discuss the question of the Union of the two Kingdoms. (J. Scott op.cit. p.231 and D.N.B. XI p.1177.) He died in 1613.

13. LYNE, - .

Possibly the father of Richard Lyne, painter and engraver for Archbishop Parker (D.N.B. XII 342). Nothing is known about this man save that in 1556 Melancthon addressed a letter to John Faith - or Fidelis - in which he recommends to his notice a Scotsman named Linus or Lyne as a man of learning and true piety. (P. Lorimer, The Scottish Reformation, Glasgow 1860 pp. 120, 121. Unfortunately the author gives no source for his statement.)

14. MACALPINE (MACCABAEUS) - John. Ex-religious.

(Of Perth?)

Died December 1557.

Macalpine's birth place is unknown, but from 1530-34 he was prior of the Dominican house at Perth. In the latter year, however, he was converted to Protestantism and consequently summoned to St. Andrews by Cardinal Beaton upon a charge of heresy, which summons he failed to obey, preferring to take refuge in England. (Bredahl Petersen, Ph.D. Thesis "John Maccabaeus" New College Edin. 1937.)

Here he was sheltered by Bishop Shaxton of Salisbury and on July 12th 1538 he became prebend of Bishopstone with a stall in Salisbury Cathedral. (J. Bale, Scriptorum, p.226.) Also about the same time he married Agnes Matheson, another Scot, born in Sutherland in 1503, who, with the rest of her family, had fled to England in 1534 and settled in London. She outlived Macalpine, dying in the year 1589. (B. Petersen, opcit. pp. 58, 59 from Latin copy of the funeral oration in Joh. Pistorius Brevbog Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3078,4. Copenhagen.) Agnes Matheson's sister was the wife of Miles Coverdale (see Appendix I p.i.): so that, after Macalpine had left England to study at Wittenberg, where he received the

degree of Doctor of Theology, at the same time becoming acquainted with the German reformers, and had been appointed one of the chaplains of Christian III of Denmark and a professor in the University of Copenhagen, Macalpine was able to use his influence to prevail upon the Danish King to arrange for Coverdale's release by Mary Tudor's Council.

One must presume that Maccabaeus - as he called himself abroad - unlike his contemporary Alesius, lived and died a Lutheran. Alesius, beginning as a follower of Luther soon became a life-long friend of Melancthon, and like him, somewhat bent upon Calvinism; Maccabaeus appears never to have sought the patronage of Melancthon, but to have been a Lutheran like his royal master. Indeed in 1550 a translation of Luther's German version of the Bible was printed in Copenhagen, being the work of Maccabaeus and three others in that city. He died in Copenhagen on December 6th 1557.

15. MACBRAIRE, John. Ex- religious. (Of. Galloway.)
Died November 1584.

Whatever his previous history, John Macbraire was incorporated into the College of St. Salvators, St. Andrews, in 1530 and became a Determinant in 1531 (D. Laing, Works of Knox 1846 ed. I p.529).

Some time immediately before 1551 when Gavin Dunbar's successor was appointed to the See of Glasgow, Archbishop Hamilton visited that See from St. Andrews to find that "magna pars diocesis Glasguensis nuper fuerit heresibus infecta" (Abbotsford Club, 1845. Liber Officialis Sancti Andree p.167). In particular, the Archbishop, in his wrath, stormed in person the place of Ochiltree, and dragged from it, to bonds and imprisonment, "quemdam apostatam nomine Macbraire heresiarcham" and imprisoned him apparently in Castle Hamilton, from which he escaped in 1550. (Pitcairn, Criminal Trials I 352.) At this time he is described as formerly a Canon of Glenluce, from which it would appear that he had taken Orders.

He must have fled to England, for in 1552 he was installed in the vicarage of St. Leonards, Shoreditch (C. H. Garrett, op.cit. p.223). In 1554, however, he was deprived, and was among the first exiles to arrive at Frankfurt, and became the first pastor of the English congregation there.

Upon his return in 1559, he was appointed to preach at Pauls Cross on September 3rd and for a time he acted as one of the two preachers to the Corporation of Ipswich in 1561. In 1568 he became Vicar of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, now the Cathedral. (D. Laing op.cit. I p. 530.)

In the Chancellor's Visitation of the diocese of Durham in January 1577/8, he is described as vicar of Billingham, and a few days later his name, together with those of his curate and two churchwardens of Billingham, is among those "persons excommunicated". However, he must have regained favour, for in Chancellor Robert Swift's Visitation held on Wednesday, July 23rd of that year, he appeared before the Visitors at Heighington, and is again described as Vicar of Billingham. In January 1578/9 he was so well esteemed that he preached to the clergy assembled at Newcastle for the purpose of the annual chancellor's visitation. The vicarage at Newcastle fell into a great state of disrepair during Macbraire's incumbency, so that a process was instituted against him for this malpractice, but he died whilst it was still in progress. After his death, which was on or about November 17th 1584, a Roger Robson took possession of his goods which included "19 neete (i.e. cattle) and one meare" (i.e. mare), worth £18; together with a silver salt cellar worth £5 or more, and a silk grogram gown and cassock, valued at £6.13.4. (Surtees Soc. vol. 34, 1857, Ecclesiastical Procs. of Bishop Barnes of Durham passim.)

16. MAYDWELL, John. Ex- religious.

He has been identified with a Scottish friar of that name (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 227), but, were it not for the christian name of one "Makdwell" who fled from Scotland to Holland in 1536 (Knox, History of the Reformation, ed. D. Laing I p.557), which Laing asserts to be James, although no contemporary account has been found which gives it, one would be tempted to identify the Marian exile with this man. Makdwell or Mackdowell is a much more common name in Scotland, whilst it is not known where it was that the exile under Mary passed his time abroad. Knox under the year 1536 mentions him in the same context as Alesius, Fyfe and Maccabaesus, and states that at this period of exile he "was elected borrow maistir in one of the Steadis (Stadtts, of N. Holland)". It would be reasonable to suppose that he would return there upon the commencement of his second exile and has thus not been discovered amongst the archives of Germany or Switzerland. Upon his return he was instituted to the living of Woodeton, in the diocese of Norwich on May 10th 1559. (Norwich Reg. Institution Bk. XVIII f.221r.)

17. ROUGH, John. Ex-religious.

Died December 1557.

He is said to have been born in the year 1510, but, since he was incorporated in the College of St. Leonards in 1521, it is likely that his birth was a little earlier than that.

At the age of 17 he entered the Black Friars monastery at Stirling, but two visits to Rome turned him from the old faith, as it had Luther (Foxe, Acts and Monuments VIII 443-9) whilst he must have quickly made a name for himself in the new, for in 1542 he was appointed Chaplain to the Earl of Arran "to be his preacher" (Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow Misc. ms. fol. 9. preface f.1 History of the Church and State in Scotland).

But when John Hamilton, Abbott of Paisley, joined his brother the Governor of Scotland the following year, Rough took refuge in Kyle (Laing, Works of Knox I p.105). If, as Miss Garrett suggests, he had already been in receipt of a pension from England, he would surely have fled South. (Marian Exiles p. 274.)

By 1546 Rough had made his way to St. Andrews and was present on that Spring morning when Beaton was attacked within the Castle. That same day, May 29th, he and Knox were summoned before the temporary Vicar-General of the diocese, for a disputation in St. Leonards Yards (Rev. J. Scott, History of the Lives of Scottish

Reformers p.40).

Within less than a week those concerned in the murder were put to the horn and therefore shut themselves up, well victualled, in the castle. Among their company was John Rough, who became their preacher (D. Laing, Works of Knox I p.182 Note 1, from Spottiswood's History.) However he escaped before the Castle capitulated in 1547, making his way to England, being recommended by Lennox and Wharton to Somerset in September. (Reg. Ho. Cal. Sc. Papers I 22, 52.) It was thus that he came to the Earl of Somerset's notice, and, upon recommendation, was awarded a pension of twenty pounds per annum by Henry VIII, which was renewed under Edward VI. (Laing op.cit. VI p.672 note and Cal. S.P. Scot. pp. 22,52.) And so he stayed in the North of England, preaching in Carlisle, Berwick and Newcastle - for Protestant preachers were short in those parts - having married a Scotswoman upon his arrival in England. (Calderwood, History I 251 and Cal. Scot. Papers I pp. 35,50,117. Dudley to Somerset and the same to Gray.) Upon Mary's accession he fled, but, returning to preach in London, he was caught at Islington in December 1557 and burnt. (Camd. Soc. XLII pp. 160, 161.)

18. SYM, James. Burgess. (Of Edinburgh.)

Like his friend James Baron (q.v.) he was a citizen burgess of Edinburgh, in whose house John Knox stayed more than once when in that city.

In May 1557, with James Baron, they set out to Geneva bearing a letter from certain of the Scottish nobility, to recall John Knox from Geneva, but it is not known how long they stayed, or whether their wives went with them. Sym had been married at least three years before going abroad. (Edin. Records Burgh Accounts II p.40.) But some time before January 10th 1558 they had returned, for the Town Treasurer's accounts for that year contain an entry: "item, to James Sym for recompanss of certane spyces bocht fra him to be gevin to the Provest, quhilk the provest refusit" (Edin. Records Burgh Accounts I p.239). It is possible that these spices had been brought back by Sym from the Continent.

19. SIMPSON, David. Ex-religious. (Of Forfar.) (Acts of the Parl. of Scot. II pp.418 and 419, March 15th 1542)

If, as has been suggested (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p.288) this exile was the brother of Andrew, the reforming school master of Perth Grammar School 1550-1560, then it is likely that he was the David Simpson who witnessed the Reduction of the forfeiture of Archibald, Earl of Angus, in Forfar, on January 31st 1542. The Earl was a confidant of Sir

Ralph Sadler, and in August the following year was paid a hundred pounds for betraying "all the strong holdes on thissyde the Fryth". (Hamilton Papers I pp. 652 and p. 65, Privy Co. to Suffolk, Aug. 31st 1543.)

Like so many others, who came into contact with any of their countrymen who were acting in the interest of the English invaders, Simpson appears to have made his way into England. Indeed this movement South of many Scots reformers, recommended as they often were to the Lieutenant of the North or the Commander-in-Chief of the English Army in the North, goes some way to disprove McCrie's statement that the Regent Arran and his brother, after the Battle of Pinkie, found it expedient "not to irritate the Protestants", and so took care not to indict them upon charges of heresy, but rather upon crimes against the State (Life of Knox, I p. 163, 1814 ed). On the contrary, it would seem that this might often have been a just charge, since so many were engaged in treasonable intercourse with the enemy.

Miss Garrett states that almost undoubtedly Simpson was one of those who surrendered the Black Friars Priory at Newcastle in January 1539 (Marian Exiles p.288, where incidentally the reference should read, 8th Rep. Dep. Keeper of Records App. II p. 32). There seems nothing to prove it except the similarity of names, and it is

unlikely, if he were a young Scot but recently come into that country, that he would sign the deed immediately after the prior.

Simpson next appears in the party of John Alasco which fled from England in 1553, but he seems to have become a wandering preacher in the intervening years, for he is described at this time as "David Simpson natione Scotus qui verbo ministrum in Anglia egerat" (Reprint of Utenhove's *Simplex et fidelis narratio* in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* IX p.119).

It is possible that Simpson was a friend of John Rough and that they were both passengers together in their flight aboard the boat which bore Alasco and the others to safety. For we are told that at the same time as John Rough was burned after his re-entry into London, so was Cuthbert Sympson - perhaps a relative of David - and "one of the first deacons of the congregation that had lived in secret in London. This man was of worthie integrite of life; he was betrayed with John Rough"¹. But whatever the views of the rest of the family, David's appear to have been of a moderate

1) Also, in 1540, a priest from Stirling, named Sympson, was burnt as a heretic upon Castle Hill, Edinburgh. Rough had been in the Black Friars Monastery there. (J. C. Carrick *Wycliffe and the Lollards* pp.274-5.)

nature in religious matters. For, being asked by Westphal in Hamburg "Verum quid tu David Simpson de re Sacramentaria sentis?" he replied, "Id ipsum quod in Anglia sub Eduardo Rege est traditum". (Simplex et Fidelis Narratio p. 202). It is not known whether he survived the two epidemics of plague encountered during exile or not, for there is no further record of him to be found. It has been discovered, however, that he was married at some date prior to his flight in 1553, for he was accompanied by his wife. It would appear that they were a childless couple, for while other families who fled with Alasco have been listed with their families, none are subscribed below the Simpsons. (Brit. Mus. Lib. D. G. Zwergius Siellandske Cleresie p.53 1754 ed.)

20. WATSON, John. Gent. (Of Carnwarth?) (Cal. S.P. Scot. I p.47.)
Died 1557.

It is likely that this man is one of that family who served Archibald Earl of Angus (Register Ho. Justiciary Records Court Bk. Old Series VI Feb. 11th 1549/50 and Hamilton Papers II pp. 745, 746) and like many who served Anglophile Scots, found his way into England. The last record that can be found of this John Watson in Scotland is in June 1544 at Jedburgh where he figures amongst a

list of prisoners, and as one of the Earl's servants.

However, in 1555 he arrived at Geneva in the household of Sir William Fuller (Garrett p.322) and later joined Thomas Stafford's expedition to Scarborough, for which he was hanged. It is interesting to speculate upon his motives in serving first of all the Earl of Angus, who had married Margaret Tudor, and secondly Stafford, who claimed to be next in royal succession after Mary Tudor.

21. WILLIAMS, Chaplain.

Little is known of this man, save that together with John Pullen he had acted as chaplain to the Duchess of Suffolk. Both of them often travelled to the continent to see her. He had been a preacher under Edward VI, and had resided chiefly at Colchester at the Kings Head - a house apparently which had sheltered many reformers and whose hostess was imprisoned by the Bishop in 1557."

Like Elizabeth Young and Thomas Bryce, who also inhabited that city, he may have acted as a messenger for the exiles rather than have joined permanently the band of those abroad, for it seems that he came frequently to an alehouse in Cornhill, London, and possibly he brought heretical books and pamphlets (Foxe A and M VIII 384 1849 ed.).

22. WILLOCK, John. Ex-religious D.D. (York Dnc. Reg. Institutions Act Book III f. 18.) (Of Ayrshire.)
Died December 1585.

Born in Ayrshire, and probably educated at Glasgow, he then became a Dominican Friar. (J. Scott, History of the lives of Prot. Reformers in Scotland, p.53 and Wodrow Misc. I p.262.)

Having joined the reform party before 1541 he went into England, was imprisoned in the Fleet in 1542 for preaching against purgatory, holy water, confession, prayers to saints, and for holding that priests might be lawfully married. (Foxe A and M V pp.443, 448.) In 1549 he was still in London, for John ab Ulmis had supper with him and was impressed with his skill in Greek and Latin. (Parker Soc. Orig. Letters II p. 393.) He next became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk and accompanied him North into camp in 1552 (ibid. I pp. 314-16). A short while later he was indicted for conspiracy in Suffolk's rebellion and fled to Emden.

In 1555 and again the following year he was sent by his patron, Anne Duchess of Friesland, on a mission to the Queen Regent in Scotland to institute discussions over trade between the two countries (Wodrow Misc. I p. 262). It was during his first visit that John Knox

found Willock and Harlowe both busy "preaching the gospel in private hours". In 1558 Willock returned permanently to Scotland and on May 10th 1559 both he and Harlowe were denounced as rebels for preaching Reformation doctrines (Pitcairn, Criminal Trials I p.407 and Knox, History of the Reformation I p. 161 ed. W. C. Dickinson).

Willock, who was married, had presumably left his wife Katherine Picknavell in London when he fled originally to Emden, for on October 10th 1560 Archbishop Beaton's factor wrote to his master from Glasgow: "John Willocks is going to London with the ambassadors to bring home his wife". She returned on January 3rd 1561 (Wodrow Misc. I p. 264).

He attended the first meeting of the General Assembly, and was chosen Moderator in 1563, 1564, 1565 and 1568. He had also been elected Superintendant of Glasgow on September 4th 1561 (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31.2.19 no. 156 f. 122), and in 1565 Superintendant of the West, whilst his civil capacities had been confined to appointment as a Member Extraordinary of the Privy Council in 1559 (McCrie, Life of Knox I p.300). It seems that Mary found his influence growing too great, and this undoubtedly hindered his career as a statesman. In 1565 she endeavoured to put a stop to his activity by having him imprisoned

in Dumbarton Castle, but she was forced to abandon this plan owing to the strength of the Protestant Party. Willock thereupon took refuge in Leicestershire, from whence he did not return until urged to do so by a strong appeal from the General Assembly in 1567.

Shortly after his final Moderatorship he went into England together with his son Edmund, where, on December 3rd 1572 the latter was instituted to the rectory of Hawton, near Newark. The living had fallen vacant more than six months previously and, by not appointing an incumbent, the patron, Francis Molyneux, had forfeited his right of presentation to Archbishop Grindal. However, Molyneux subsequently obtained a writ from the King's Bench, dated June 21st 1574, which stated that Edmund, having been summoned to London, was, by his non-appearance, pronounced contumacious and so deprived. (York Dioc. Reg. Institutions Act. Book III ff. 18r, 53, 59.) On December 9th 1579, however, Edmund was instituted to the perpetual vicarage of Bakewell parish church, in Derbyshire. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Grindal's Reg. f. 433v.)

It has been suggested that John Willock, who had been presented to the rectory of Loughborough in Leicestershire by the Earl of Huntingdon in the reign of Edward VI, continued to hold the living throughout the period

of his exile and subsequently during his sojourn in Scotland. (Scott, Fasti Eccles. Scot. I p. 51.) This most unlikely occurrence can now be denied. Upon the same day that Edmund was instituted to Hawton, John Willock received licence to preach during Archbishop Grindal's pleasure, a fact which suggests that both father and son had but recently arrived in England, so that John may have stayed longer in Scotland, after his final return as Moderator in 1568-9, than has been hitherto supposed. Whilst upon March 8th 1572/3, another incumbent was presented to the rectory of Loughborough by reason of the death of the previous rector, one Thomas Blackburne (York Dioc. Reg. Institutions Act Book III f. 25) so that it is likely that Willock had been deprived of this living at some time during his exile at Emden under Mary. But he must have regained the living within a few years, for he died there on December 5th 1585, leaving, besides his son Edmund, a daughter-in-law and several grandchildren. His wife also survived him, dying in 1599 (Scott Fasti Eccles. Scot. I p. 51).

23. YOUNG, James. (Of St. Andrews) (Acts of the Parl. of Scot. IIp. 467) Tailor.

Little is known about this man save that he described himself, when admitted a resident in Geneva with his wife Anne in 1557, as a tailor.

He may be a relative of Sir John Young "chaplane allegit art and pt. takar of ye cruel and odious slauchte of my lord Cardinale" at St. Andrews (Acts of the Parl. of Scot. July 30th 1546), for he was a friend of Knox, it seems, who sent him with a letter to Anna Locke at Frankfurt.

He may be the James Young who was minister of Saltoun, in the Presbytery of Haddington, in 1562 (Bannatyne Club 81 Acts of the General Assembly p. 691. This incumbancy is not recorded in the Fasti Eccles. Scot. I p. 391, which only, in this context, commences in 1568).

C O N C L U S I O N

The small band of men who returned upon Elizabeth's accession were naturally accepted with suspicion, the more so because no one could say what shape the new Settlement might take. Hussey, in his "account of the vacation after the death of the late Cardinal" which fell upon the same day as that of his mistress, wrote:

"it ys to be considered that by reason of alteration in Religion the Contrarietie of Assercions and the Smalnes of Commoditie, men could be scarcely intreated to take upon them the exercise of Iurisdiction in the diocess vacant."¹

This state did not continue for long, however, because the new Queen soon began to formulate a new policy. Vague at first in regard to church matters, it was quickly forced into a more definite form by the exiles who were restored to their livings. Nineteen of these returned to their former incumbencies in London alone, whilst in that same diocese, as a consequence of the Visitation of 1559, there were needed five new Archdeacons and eleven prebendal stalls stood vacant in St. Pauls, whilst "at least twenty of the ninety-one City churches which had not been vacant before the visitation lacked incumbents

1) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Chartae Miscellanaea II 89.

afterwards".¹ The Church therefore required new men, and the one hundred and thirty or more exiles already in orders or who subsequently took the cloth, were more than prepared to supply the need. Parker, who by his proclamation issued from Lambeth, shewed himself unwilling to accept these unknown quantities into the church, was no doubt merely echoing the Queen's desires. But this Fabian policy was soon dispelled not only by Grindal's ordinations but also by the strong co-operation of advanced Protestants in the two Houses of Parliament and in the Council.

Throughout the reign the exiles shewed themselves remarkably united in their policy; a fact which is the more surprising in view of their differences abroad. Naturally there were those who played little or no part in public affairs upon their return. Those who had followed Wyatt or Dudley because they hated Spain, or who had fled to the sanctuary of the harbours upon the North coast of France, the better to prey upon Spanish shipping in the Channel, were content to return to their old habits at home. Piracy was at its most profitable until the year of the Armada, when the presence of many

1) E. L. C. Mullins, The Effects of the Marian and Elizabethan Settlement upon the clergy of London, M.A. Thesis, Inst. Hist. Res. pp. 139, 206.

naval vessels at Plymouth, coupled with a decline of Spanish shipping in the Channel towards the close of the century, made the trade both risky and insecure. Until that time, however, those from the West Country devoted their attention to amassing what fortune they might, to the exclusion of all other considerations.

At the same time, there were many merchants whose businesses, if not actually ruined by the Spanish marriage which caused their flight, were in a serious state of neglect upon their return. Thus many devoted themselves to plans for improving trade generally like Thomas Heton with his scheme for creating Emden as a rival port to Antwerp, or, like Hickman, joined the ranks of those who sought precious metals and minerals in the hills of Scotland and England.

There were a few hotheads, it is true, amongst the rest, so that Thomas Dannett and John Hales quickly found themselves in trouble for their political aspirations, whilst a handful, incapable of tarrying for the magistrate, sought solace in the company of one or other of the bands of sectaries which were so abhorrent to the rest, and which Sandys castigated as "rude and indigested platformes".¹

1) York Dioc. Reg., Bishop's Register 31 ff. 103-105r, Sandys will, Aug. 1st 1587.

The remainder, nearly all men of authority in the Church or State, did not seek to gain their ends by illegal means, and few were either sequestered, deprived, or felt it necessary to resign from their livings.

From what has been seen of their activities, it is evident that from the very first they had perceived the necessity for winning the regard of those in authority. At the same time they shewed a remarkable spirit of comradeship among themselves and were always willing to administer the properties of fellow-exiles who died shortly after their return to England, and to assist the more indigent to find a competent livelihood in the church, or even at Court.¹ In July 1559 Robert Horne and James Pilkington wrote from Trinity College asking the Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, that one whom they favoured should be given the vacant fellowship there.² In March 1564/5 twelve exiles and eight others petitioned that those who sought reform in matters ecclesiastical should stand together against their enemies and thus present an united front to European efforts at expansion as well as to extremism at home. It is undoubtedly significant that

1) This the wills or goods of John Binks, Thomas Turpin, Robert Pownall, and Henry Alcockson sufficiently prove. See also Appendix I p. cxx.

2) Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 5843 f. 40.

this petition should contain the name of Whittingham who had so resolutely defended the cause of John Knox at Frankfurt. Now that he had returned home, he evidently saw the need for co-operation, as did Thomas Cole who signed it and who had chosen the same side at Frankfurt. That this document should also be subscribed to by Percival Wiborne, who was sequestered that very year is surely a further sign that even the more violent exile desired unity as much as any; but he was often not of that timber from which constitutional leaders are made. Being impatient, and possibly incapable of seeing the situation in its true perspective, Wiborne left England to canvas support in Zurich from Bullinger and Beza which was not forthcoming. He therefore returned and was suspected of having a hand in the composition of the "Admonition to Parliament" in 1573, whilst the most that may be said for his behaviour is that it was sincere though misguided, it may serve to shew how the few other returned exiles who were also sequestered came to stand in opposition to authority. To Government, extremism and misguided zeal were one in their result and had therefore to be quelled alike. Unofficially, however, they were not indistinguishable, so that even in Wiborne's sequestration it was permitted to him to hold his prebends, whilst his preaching

was still connived at.

The necessity for authority to keep such men within the fold until after 1588 meant that many shortcomings not forgiven by Whitgift and Bancroft were pardoned by Parker and Grindal; so that even Whittingham and Robert Swift, once threatened with deprivation by the High Commission at York, were appointed to the strength of that very body eight years later. On the other hand, the malcontents under the first two Archbishops of the reign were less extreme than their successors. The earlier reformers had lived under Henry VIII and Edward VI and had been brought up, at least outwardly, as Catholics, and therefore found that they could conform with comparative ease under the Elizabethan Settlement. The church was by no means rejuvenated, or even purged by the Reformation of some of its great faults, so that Burghley in 1572 could still make a memorandum in his own hand:

"The bishopps and clergy to be reformed for the waste of ther patrimonyes. Ye negligence of teachyng and ye abuse of pluralities, and non reside(n)ce by unnecessary dispecatiōs." (i.e. dispensations.)¹

To those to whom such faults had always been part of the church, these irregularities mattered little. But

1) Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 104 f. 27.

to the second generation it proved exasperating, so that it was they, and not the Marian exiles, who are to be found petitioning Parliament for a learned ministry, or seeking to know from authority the exact value set upon Baptism and the meaning, at the ordination of deacons, of the words "Receive the Holy Ghost", spoken by the Bishop.¹ It is evident that they wished to speed up the development of reform faster than Government wished to go, although as yet they relied upon constitutional action to gain their ends.

In England the exiles returned to all walks of life, but in Scotland there were few who were not already in orders before their flight. After their return there is only one definitely and three who were possibly ordained. There was a clear division between the nobility and the Commons in Scotland. The middle class, which was extremely small and which might have assisted the work of reformation in Scotland, was rather a product of that movement than an agent in authority in its early days. Maitland of Lethington was, from the first, determined to permit the Kirk no part in state affairs, no matter how loudly the ministers might bark, so that, North

1) Lamb. Pal. Lib. Whitgift Reg. vol. I f. 348, "A copy of Mr. Awbreys lres touching ministers in Sussex." December 6th 1583."

of the Border at this time, there was fostered a situation where Church and State were sharply divided one from the other. The Settlement in England was begun as a joint effort from ecclesiastic and layman alike under Henry VIII, and so it continued under Elizabeth. This meant that the presbyterian system adopted in Scotland could never be acceptable to the Establishment in England so long as the latter was guided by the original reformers, and therefore it was only the second generation of Elizabethans, most of the exiles being by now dead, who at last sought the assistance of their brethren across the Border. This was a matter which neither Prince could endure, and thus the Council in England took steps to prevent the ingress of wandering Scots preachers into the Northern diocese, whilst the Scottish Archbishop Adamson visited Whitgift and returned boasting that those who had fled into England for sanctuary would presently be glad to be home again. But once the two Kingdoms were united under one sovereign and intercourse between them thus made easier - the puritans in each country being united against a common oppressor, and finally aroused against a common Prayer Book - they joined forces in an endeavour to gain the initiative in the matter of instituting church government. This was a very different attitude

to the one adopted by the typical conforming ecclesiastic under Elizabeth. Such a man was John Robson, who, preaching at Tenterden in Kent in 1562 said "that yt was not lawfull for us to use the servyce used at Geneva. Further he sayd we ought noo more to follow yn Geneva churche than the Romyshe churche and the Quene maye bringe in the Ceremonys used in Moys (i.e. Moses') Lawe and maye abolyshe them at her pleasure".¹ The "judicious" Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity", endeavoured to prove the identity of Church and State; an authority for church matters was essential, and whilst Elizabeth and the former exiles yet lived they constituted themselves as such. But once there had passed away, the moderating influence of the Queen, who detested theological discussion, and the former exiles, who were not fanatics, the more advanced protestants took heart of grace and endeavoured to import the Discipline of Calvin as the new touchstone.

It is this later and more controversial period of extreme protestant views, which began towards the end of the sixteenth century and which was characterised by the Martin Marprelate tracts, that has been allowed to reflect unjustly upon the conduct of the early Elizabethan

1) Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.2. f. 34.

reformers. These men were far more ready to conform and less prone to extreme protestant views than has hitherto been accepted.

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A P P E N D I X I

- I Except where otherwise stated, the places of origin are those given either by Miss C. H. Garrett in "The Marian Exiles" or by the Dictionary of National Biography, 1908 edition.
- II The arrangement of the counties of origin is upon a geographical basis, commencing in the North East and running clockwise.
- III The three classes in the index are:-
A. Offices held before exile.
B. Offices held subsequent to exile.
C. Connections, views, actions, etc., likely to have provoked exile.
Any new facts discovered during the preparation of this thesis are also presented here.
The list of M.P.'s, unless otherwise stated, has been gathered from the D.N.B., D'Ewes Journal of the House of Commons, and the "Return of Members of Parliament England 1213-1702", printed for the House of Commons, 1878.
- IV Certain exiles contained in Miss C. H. Garrett's "The Marian Exiles" are omitted from this list. They are:-
1. John Butler. It is likely that he was dead by the end of 1553.
2. Thomas Dannett, Junior. He was a minor during exile.
3. Griffin Jones. He is identical with Geoffrey Jones (C. H. Garrett, op.cit. p. 64).
4. Leonard Pilkington. There is no evidence that he was ever abroad.
5. "U" or "N". The unknown servant in the "Registre des habitants" at Geneva.
Certain exiles whose presence abroad has been discovered for the first time, or whose flight has been overlooked in recent years are included in this Appendix. They are:-
England 1. Robert Cooke (Unknown)
 2. John Hastings (London)
 3. Anthony Hickman (London)
 4. Andrew Infordby (Suffolk)
 5. John Locke (London)

6. Thomas Rose (Devon)
7. Richard Scudamore (London)
8. John Woolton (Lancashire)

Those in Scotland (see Chapter IV p. 213 above) are:-

1. Alexander Alane.
2. James Baron.
3. John Craig.
4. John Faith.
5. - Lyne.
6. John Macalpine.
7. James Sym.
8. - Williams.

There were no doubt others; in April 1554, when a rising was anticipated throughout the South as soon as Philip should land, Renard reported to the Emperor that peaceful people were leaving the country on account of the troublous times they saw coming, and that many Englishmen were going over to France and were being used by the King instead of other troops. (Cal. Sp. Papers XII 222, 224.) See also Palmer and Little (under R. Scudamore, London).

V The following Counties are listed:-

<u>County</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Page</u>
Yorkshire. . .	i	Dorsetshire. . .	ci
Lincolnshire. . .	vi	Devonshire . . .	ci
Nottinghamshire . .	xiii	Guernsay . . .	cvi
Derbyshire . . .	xv	Cornwall. . .	cvi
Leicestershire . .	xvi	Somerset. . .	cxi
Northamptonshire. .	xviii	Gloucestershire. .	cxvi
Huntingdonshire . .	xix	Wiltshire . . .	cxviii
Bedfordshire . . .	xix	Warwickshire . .	cxviii
Cambridgeshire . .	xxi	Herefordshire . .	cxxi
Norfolk . . .	xxii	Worcestershire . .	cxxi
Suffolk . . .	xxix	Shropshire . . .	cxxi
Essex . . .	xxxiii	Staffordshire . .	cxxiv
Hertfordshire . .	xlii	Cheshire . . .	cxv
Buckinghamshire . .	xliv	Lancashire . . .	cxv
Oxfordshire . . .	xlvi	Westmorland. . .	cxv
Berkshire . . .	liii	Cumberland . . .	cxv
Middlesex . . .	lvi	Northumberland . .	cxv
London . . .	lviii	Wales. . .	cxv
Kent . . .	lxxx	Unknown. . .	cxv
Sussex . . .	xcvi	Calais . . .	cxv
Surrey . . .	xcviii	Antwerp. . .	cxv
Hampshire . . .	xcix		

Y O R K S H I R E

1. BENTHAM, Thomas. Sherburn. Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Oxford 1552.
 - A. -
 - B. a) 1559 One of the Visitors for the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield. (Strype Annals I 247.)
 b) March 24th 1559/60 Consecrated Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 69v.)
 - C. Deprived for an act of Sacrilege at Gardiner's Visitation 1553. (H. A. Wilson, Magdalen Coll.p.103.) Returned to England whilst Mary was still alive and preached secretly to the congregation in London.
2. COCKCROFT, Henry. York. (York Dioc. Reg. Act Bk. Dioc. of York 1545-53 I f. 103.) Deacon.
 - A. B. C. -
3. COTES, William. ? Gent?
 - A. B. -
 - C. Possibly he who was suspected of heresy in 1541, in St. Giles, Cripplegate. (Foxe A. and M V 445.)
4. COVERDALE, Miles. N. Riding (D.N.B. IV 1289 quoting Bale's Scriptorum). Ex- religious.
 - A. August 30th 1551, Bishop of Exeter
 1551 Member of the High Commission. (R. G. Usher, Rise and Fall of the High Commission, p. 348.)
 - B. Assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Parker in a black gown.
 - C. Although granted a passport to leave England on February 19th 1555 (Dasent V 97) he was still

in England upon March 2nd of that year. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.2.14 f 30. Orig. letter Scudamore to Hoby). However he left the country shortly afterwards with his wife who was a sister-in-law of John Macalpine or Maccabaeus. The latter had induced his master, Christian II of Denmark, to persuade the Council to issue Coverdale's passport.

5. DRANSFIELD, Roger. Stubbes Waldynge? (Harl. Soc. Visitation XVI. 101.) Gent.
A. B. C. -
6. FITZWILLIAM, Hugh. Hadesley. (Harl. Soc. Visitation XVI. 125.) Gent.
A. B. C. -
7. GOWER, Thomas. Stettinham. Gent. and "Armiger" (York Dioc. Reg. Act.Bk. High Com. 1568-9 f 120 v.)
A. 1543 Surveyor of Berwick. (Dasent IV 57).
1547 Marshal of Berwick. (F. Thomas Historical Notes 355).
B. 1557 and under Elizabeth, Master of the Ordinance in the North, at a fee of £151 11 8d p.a. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.1, "Ordinance".)
C. a) Whatever Thomas' faults may have been, at least one member of the family was suspected of heresy, so that it is possible that the exile's flight was not governed entirely by reasons of personal safety. For on May 24th 1554 George Gower was ordered in York to state his definite belief in transubstantiation. (York Dioc. Reg: Consistory Court Bk. VII A 34 f. 8 r.)
b) On August 20th 1554 Thomas Gower was imprisoned for uttering seditious words (Dasent IV 64), but was released, and subsequently suspected of complicity in the Dudley conspiracy. He fled and, being much in debt, turned informer immediately upon his arrival on the Continent in 1556. As a result he seems to have been granted an annuity of 100 marks from the lordships of Helsingwold and Knapton, and from the manor of Yaresthorp,

all in Yorkshire. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 433 f. 71.) Impecunity appears to have haunted him all his life, for even in January 1578 he was seeking from Elizabeth a continuance of a £40 annuity granted to him by Edward VI. (Hatfield ms. II no. 496. This is not mentioned in the D. N. B.)

8. HUGHES, Cuthbert. ? Student, son of Lady Denny's chaplain. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 192.)

A. B. C. -

9. HUTTON, Robert. Halifax. (York Dioc. Reg. Dioc. of York Act Bk. I f. 103v.) Deacon, ordained July 2nd 1553. (Ibid.)

A. B. -

C. It seems unlikely, as has been suggested, (cf. D.N.B. X 360 and C.H.Garrett op.cit. 195) that he was ever a student at Cambridge. It is probable that he was merely a servant to William Turner, the physician from Morpeth, and an exile. At the time of his ordination as deacon, which was subsequent to his service at Cambridge, he was described as "iam moram trahens apud Hallifax". (York Dioc. Reg. Diocese of York I f. 103.)

10. JEFFREYS, Thomas. ? Gent.

A. B. -

C. Miss Garrett (op.cit. p. 197) states that this man was a native of Yorkshire, but she gives no reason for her conclusion. Whilst there is no positive evidence that he did not come from that part of the country, yet it is possible that he was a relative of that "Welshman named John Jefferye sometimes servant to the old Erle of Arundell". (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 f. 53.) (See John Jeffrey, Wales, below.)

11. MANSEFIELD, John. Malton. Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. Since he was appointed by Grindal to the curacy of Malton, in which living he still remained in

October 1572. (York Dioc. Reg: Act Bk. High Com: 1572-4 f 6 v), it is unlikely that he is the John Mansfield Esq., Surveyor of the Queen's lands in the N. Riding, whose daughter married the first minister of the first Church at Boston, Mass. (cf. C. H. Garrett op. cit. p. 225).

12. MAUDE, John alias Herring. Derfield. (York Dioc. Reg. Archbishop's Reg V f 689 v.) Preacher.

A. B. -

C. Undoubtedly the son of "Edward Maude", vicar of Derfield, deprived of this vicarage on May 5th 1554. In this entry in the Archbishop's Register he is described as "nuper de Blithe", Notts. His will was proved Oct. 5th 1570, and he left his goods in three parts, one of them being left to his son John alias Herring (York Dioc. Reg. Bishops Reg. 30 f 137).

13. PICKERING, William. ? Knight. (Created Knight of the Carpet on Edward VI's succession. Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 2517 f 355 v.)

A. 1543 Member Henry VIII's Household.
1547 M.P. Warwick.
1550-51 Ambassador to France.

B. a) 1558 Appointed by Queen Mary to act as a recruiting agent for 3,000 German troops to be used by Philip in the Low Countries. (Brit Mus. Add. ms. 6362 f 17. Orig. letter Mary to Gresham March 10th 1557/8 and Add. ms. 5755 f 22.)
b) 1569 One of the Lieutenants of London.

C. Since he was pardoned by Mary and served her again at the end of her reign, and so cannot be considered a true exile, yet his sympathies were undoubtedly protestant inclined. In 1543 he was indicted with the Earl of Surrey for eating flesh in Lent whilst previously as a student at Cambridge he had been an ardent follower of Sir John Cheke. (D.N.B. XV. 1130.) In 1553 he joined the rebel Carew, and fled with Thomas Dannett to Caen. Here they turned informer, and the Queen ordered a pardon to be drawn up on November 10th of the

following year, (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 105 f. 124), so that Pickering was able to return to England in March.

14. PULLAIN, John. ? Priest.

A. B. -

C. In Edward VI's reign he had married, and on Nov. 5th 1553 he was summoned before the Vicar-General, but this most likely was for a doctrinal offence and not for marriage, since the proceedings against married clergy had not yet been instituted. On Feb. 20th 1553/4, he was deprived of his rectory of St. Peter's Cornhill, although he continued to preach secretly in the district. (E. L. C. Mullins, the Effects of the Marian and Elizabethan Settlements upon the Clergy of London 1553-64. Inst. Hist. Research, M.A. Thesis.) He also resorted to Colchester, but finally fled with his wife and daughter Faith in 1557 to Geneva. This, however, was probably not his first visit to the exiles, (Foxe A and M VIII 384, Confession of Stephen Morris) for he and one named Williams, a Scot, were the Duchess of Suffolk's chaplains and often travelled over to see her. Reinstated at St. Peters, he resigned it before Nov. 15th 1560. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f. 26.) On March 8th 1559/60 he was admitted to the rectory of Clopford, Essex, having been already appointed by Grindal to the Archdeaconry of Colchester. On Sept. 12th 1561 he was admitted to a prebendal stall in St. Pauls.

15. SWIFT, Jasper. Rotheram. Gent.

A. -

B. 1568 Sergeant of the Admiralty. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1581-90 p. 486.)

C. His brother (below) was a fellow of St. John's at Cambridge, and possibly infected him with the doctrines so staunchly upheld there by Lever.

16. SWIFT, Robert. Rotheram. Gent, later ordained.

A. -

B. 1573, as Chancellor to the Bishop of Durham,

one of the Ecclesiastical Commission for York Province. (P.R.O. S.P. 12 vol. CXIX no. 60.)

- C. His sympathies may be gauged from the fact that he married Thomas Lever's daughter Anne. In 1566 and 1567 he was summoned before the High Commission at York for administering Communion in improper apparel, and threatened with deprivation. (York Dioc. Reg. Act Bk. High Com. 1566-7/8 ff. 83v and 84.)

17. WATTES, Thomas. ? Gent.

- A. -
- B. 1562, 1572, 1576, Member of the High Commission. (R. G. Usher op.cit. 359.)
- C. 1561 Became one of Grindal's chaplains, and in January the same year, he became Archdeacon of Middlesex. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms.983 f. 12.) In August 1570, when he is described as D.D., he was admitted to the parish church of Bocking, Essex, a living to which, after his death, Grindal's other chaplain Mullins, succeeded. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker's Reg. I f. 293v and Grindal Reg. f. 174.) By 1570 he had also become senior canon and residentiary at St. Pauls. (Parker's Reg. I f. 202.)

L I N C O L N S H I R E

1. BATEMAN, John. ? Gent.

- A. 1555 M.P. Nottingham Borough? (Described as "generous")
- B. 1559, 1563, 1572, 1584, M.P. Nottingham Borough.
- C. Protégé and secretary of Edward, third Earl of Rutland. He speaks of Sir William Pickering - the exile, - as though he had known him, and he has entrée to Cecil at Kenilworth in 1570, when he promises his patron that he will seek an audience for him. He may have been a courtier, for he presumes to give the Earl advice

upon the best course of action to pursue in that quarter; the Earl having knowledge of one Walderton who is anxious to serve the Queen. Bateman advises him to forward the foreigner's letters to the court, lest the contrary action may be misunderstood by "them" - i.e. presumably the court -. (Hist. ms. Com. Rutland ms. pp. 71, 91, 100, Bateman to Henry, Earl of Rutland, Feb. 1560, and same to Edward, Earl of Rutland, Sept. 1570 and Feb. 1574.) He lived for periods, it seems, at Holywell, S. Lincs., one of the Rutlands' houses. (Ibid. pp. 89, 101.)

2. COLE, Thomas. Grantham ? Headmaster of Maidstone School and Dean of Sarum.

A. B. -

C. Maidstone was where Wyatt signed his manifesto in January 1553/4, whilst Cole fled in September 1554. Possibly he was concerned in the rebellion. In 1567, as patron of the living, he presented Anthony Cariar, once his fellow exile at Strasburg, to the vicarage of Lynton, near Barnstaple. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker's Reg. f. 381r.)

3. COLE, William. Grantham. Gent.

A. -

B. 1568 First married President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.¹
1596 Dean of Lincoln, his successor followed Oct. 1598. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 983 f. 64.)

C. Possibly related to the Margaret Cole, against whom and one other, in 1556, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield objected articles "de heretica pravitate". (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 f. 207 from Harl. ms. 42 B 6.)

¹ It is amusing to note that on March 3rd 1571/2 Cole was instituted to the parish church of Heyford Bridge, Oxfordshire, a living in the presentation of the President and scholars of C. C. College, Oxford. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 f. 219.)

4. FOXE, John. Boston. Martyrologist and deacon.

A. B. -

- C. Tutor in the house of the Duchess of Suffolk. Edited Tyndale's works for John Day (Notes and Queries no. 23 p. 263). Deprived for marriage and for insufficiency of orders. (C.H. Garrett op. cit. 156.)
1572 Appointed to that hotbed of Vestiarian controversy, Durham, where he became a prebendary. This office he resigned within 10 weeks, because of his scruples about the surplice. It is interesting to find that his memory was so popular in the parliament of February 1597/8 that £30 was voted in the House for the ransom of his son from the French. (Hayward Townshend's Journal. Bulletin I.H.R. xii pp.22,23.)

5. GILBY, Anthony. ? Preacher.

A. B. -

- C. Principal translator of the Genevan Bible. (C. Martin. op.cit. 241.)
1572-3 Concerned in the Admonition Controversy.

6. HAMBY, John. Brocklesby. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 174.) Gent.

A. B. C. -

7. KELKE, Roger. Barnetby. Gent.

A. -

- B. 1558 Master of Magdalene College. Twice Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.

1563 In spite of the Queen's choice of another, the fellows of Lever's old College, St. Johns, elected him master. (Brit.Mus. Lans. ms. vii ff. 2-7.)

- C. With John MacBraire, appointed preacher to the Corporation of Ipswich, and in 1562 accused of being "a preacher of noe trewe doctrine". His connection with this district continued throughout

his life, however, for in 1571/2, when he was described as D.D., he held the rectory of "Sproghton", Norwich Diocese. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. Lit. B. 2. folios unnumbered. (This ms. is described in the catalogue Cath. Lib. 36 no 96 as extracts from Parker's Register. This is impossible, and they are extracts from the Court of Faculties' Register.))

8. LAKIN, Thomas. Thimbleby. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 214.) Gent and D.D. (York Dioc. Reg. Bishops Reg. 30 ff. 156, 161.)

A. -

B. 1562-August 1575. Member of the High Commission at York, over which court he frequently presided. (York Dioc. Reg. Act Bk. High Com. passim, and P.R.O. S.P. 12 vol cxix no 60.)

C. Like Lever a member of St. Johns College, possibly his flight was due to his marriage, for when he made his will upon his death-bed, dated October 10th 1575, he mentioned his wife Elizabeth, a son Matthew, and an unmarried daughter Katherine not yet 21 years old, and a grandson. He also left property in York. (York Dioc. Reg. Bishops Reg 30 f 156.) His successor in the rectory of Bolton Percy, to which he himself had been instituted March 15th 1560/61, was appointed on Oct. 21st 1575, by which time Lakin must have died. (York Dioc. Reg. ibid f 61v and Act Bk. Institutions iii f 85, and Act Bk 1545-53 Dioc. Reg. i f 61.)

9. LITTLER, Richard. Tathwell? Gent.

A. B. C. -

10. MAYHEWE, Anthony. ? Gent (Fellow of Pembroke College, Camb.)

A. B. -

C. He died in England Oct 19th 1559. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 228.)

11. MERES, Anthony. Auburn. Gent.

A. B. -

C. A conspirator, for in Sept. 1555 his lands were sequestered by the same commission that did the like for the Duchess of Suffolk. (Dasent V 180.) By April 1556 he had fled in the face of Cardinal Pole's Visitation of Lincoln. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Pole's Reg. f 17.) His elder brother Laurence, who had remained in favour under Mary, was, none the less, appointed to the Ecclesiastical Commission in York Province 1574. Like many families whose members contained exiles, it seems to have been found politic for one member to have remained at home in order to administer their estates. (P.R.O. S.P. 12 vol CXIX no.60).

12. MORWIN, Peter. ? Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. One of those ordained by Grindal in Jan. 1559/60. Besides being rector of Langwith, Derbyshire, and chaplain to Bishop Bentham of Coventry and Lichfield, he was also, on July 22nd, 1560, "placed in the church of Norbury, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield upon the deprivation of Henry Cumberford". (Brit. Mus. Lans ms. 981 f 154.) Like the majority of exiles, he conformed and served the Church faithfully, and in 1567 he was made a prebendary of Lichfield and in 1570 accused Laurence Nowell, dean there, of uttering seditious speeches against the Queen. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 vol LXXIII no. 72, answers of Nowell to Morwin's charges.)

13. ORMESBY, Thomas. Louth? Gent and soldier.

A. -

B. 1560 killed whilst serving at Leith. (Harl. Soc. Visitations LI 739.)

C. A Dudley conspirator. (Cal. S.P. For. 1553-8

no. 509 Letter Wotton to Petrie July 19th 1556.)

14. SORBY, Thomas. ? Gent.

A. B. -

C. As Miss Garrett has said, (op.cit. p. 291) he was a man of consequence among the exiles, and one to whom Richard Chambers wrote in defence of his administration of public funds. (Troubles of Frankfurt p. clxxxii.) It is not surprising, therefore, to find that this man, with no particular qualifications that can be discovered, but who may have been in orders before his flight, was presented by the Queen to the parish church of Pycombe, diocese of Chichester, May 20th 1559. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. U 2 Reg. Dean and Chap. f.44 r.)

15. TAMWORTH, John. ? Gent.

A. -

B. Privy Councillor and Gentleman of the Chamber. (Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 22266 f.85.) Aug. 1565 Personal messenger from Elizabeth to Mary Queen of Scots. (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Calig. B X f. 336, copy of his speech.)

C. Most likely a Dudley conspirator, for he was in Padua in August 1554 whither many conspirators went. Related to Cranmer and to Francis Walsingham. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 302.)

16. TODCHAMBER, Thomas. ? Servant ?

A. B. -

C. Possibly a servant in the Duchess of Suffolk's household.

17. WILSON, Thomas. Strubby. Lawyer.

A. -

B. Feb. 18th 1560/61 Advocate in the Court of Arches, an archiepiscopal appointment. (Lamb.

Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f 228.)

1563 M.P. for Michael Borough, Cornwall.

One of the Ordinary Masters of Requests. (Brit. Mus. Lans ms. 982 f 2.)

Master of St. Catherine's Hospital, near the Tower.

1572 M.P. for Lincoln City.

1572, 1576 Member of the High Commission in the S. Province. (R. G. Usher op.cit. p.360.)

1574 Ambassador to negotiate for the expulsion of English Catholic refugees from Spain.

(Conyers Read Walsingham I p. 311 and III p. 356.)

1576 Ambassador in the Low Countries, with Edward Horsey, where he endeavoured to gain satisfaction for the English Merchants of Antwerp, captured in the sack of that city, and ransomed for £4,000. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.1.11 f 21v "Mr. Secretaries Booke in defence of the Qns.actions Anno 1584" and ibid. f 56.)

1577 P.C. and Secretary of State (Brit. Mus. Lans ms. 982 f 2, Dasent X 85).

Feb. 1579/80 Made lay-dean of Durham, upon Whittingham's death. (A rude assertion of royal supremacy, considering the questions of the latter's authority by reason of the doubtful validity of his ordination.)

- C. At Cambridge a follower of Sir Thomas Smith, and one of the clique that contained Bucer, Ridley and Grindal. (Ath. Cant. pt.366, Ascham's Works I pt. 1 xxviii ed. Giles.) Tutor to the Duchess of Suffolk's sons. (Brit. Mus. Lans ms. 982 f 2.) With Walter Haddon, wrote "Vita et obitus Duorum Fratrum Suffolciensium, Henrici et Caroli Brandon", which repeatedly dwells on the intimate relations between Bucer, the Duchess, and her sons. (C. Hopf Martin Bucer p. 24.) Willson was also a friend of the printer-grocer Richard Grafton, to whom the latter appealed some time after 1566, when he had fallen upon bad times, in order that the lawyer might press his suit with Cecil. (Brit. Mus. Lans ms. 107 f 158, orig. letter Grafton to Cecil, undated endorsed "Richard Graftons Bill".) There is no doubt, therefore, of his firm convictions in religious matters.

He was a staunch adherent of the Dudleys and fled to the continent upon Northumberland's fall.

18. WULMER, Anthony. Swineshead. Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. Possibly a conspirator, because, when in exile at Aarau, though described as "ein junger Edelman", it is remarked that he lived with Henry Wood and Roger Ashton and their families, and although of noble birth was "doch ir aller Diener." (Englische Flüchtlinge in Aarau 1557-1559, from the city archives and reprinted in C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 353.) It would seem, therefore, that all his property had been confiscated or sequestered.

N O T T I N G H A M

- I. CRANMER, Edmund. Aslockton. Archdeacon.

A. -

B. Died abroad 1557.

C. Brother of Archbishop Cranmer. Collated rector of Ickham Church by his brother Sept. 2nd, 1547. He had been Archdeacon of Canterbury and Provost of Wingham from March 9th, 1533/4 (cf. D.N.B. V 31 which gives no date); prebend at Canterbury 1549-54 and rector of Cliff-at-Hoo. He held this latter benefice until deprived for marriage in the Chapter House at Canterbury by the Vicar General, Dr. Henry Harvey, and Richard Thornden, Bishop Suffragan of Dover. (From Archiepiscopal Reg. of Cant. 1549 quoted in Arch. Cant. XIV 129-30.) His successor in the canonry was instituted by the Dean and Chapter April 11th, 1554. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. V 1. Extracts from Reg. Dean and Chap. f 32 b.) His son Thomas seems to have settled more or less permanently in

the city, becoming registrar of the Archdeaconry. On April 29th, 1571 the latter's son was christened Thomas there, and in 1585 he himself is still recorded as Registrar. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.15 Archdeacon's visitation, folios unnumbered.)

2. CRANMER, Thomas. ? Gent.

A. B. -

C. Son of the Archbishop, and during exile, whilst still a boy, consigned to the care of his uncle. Some time after 1572 he was still petitioning the Queen for the restitution of his father's land, seized by Queen Mary in 1558 and leased for 21 years. This land consisted of "the monastery of Kirckstall and the nunnery of Arthington and dyvers woods to them belonging." (Brit. Mus. Lans ms. 107 f 121 Undated petition Cranmer to Elizabeth.) He settled, in fact, in Yorkshire upon his return, but his subsequent history did little credit to his father. On Oct. 14th 1575, when he was described as "generosus" he was ordered by the High Commission in York to appear before them at stated intervals, and in the following January, required to make purgation in 7 parish churches for some unspecified crime. (York Dioc. Reg. Act Bk. High Com. 1575-6 ff 147v, 167v, 169v, 173r and v, 234v and Ibid. 1576-80 ff 9v, 14v, 19, 43v.)

3. PIERPOINT, Edward. ? Gent.

A. 1551 Possibly Master of Jesus College, Camb. (Fuller Hist. of Camb. 251 1840 ed.)

B. -

C. It has been stated that perhaps he fled from Pole's Visitation of the University in 1556 (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 249), but Fuller (op. cit. 251) states that he was among those "masters put out" by Gardiner in 1553 when he was restored as Chancellor there. It is not unlikely that he was related to Sir George Pierpoint, knighted by Edward VI, whose nominee in the

parish church of Holmepierpoint, Notts, and the rectory of Widmanpole was deprived in 1554. He was William Pierpoint, also a canon at York and prebend of Hustwaite, of which he was deprived in the same year. (York Dioc. Reg. Archiepiscopal Reg. V Sede Vacante 1299-1554 ff. 690v, 693v, 694r.)

4. PLOUGH, John. Nottingham. Vicar.

A. B. -

C. The reason for his flight from his vicarage of Sarratt, Herts, is obscure. From a list of incumbants in the church, his successor is given as Richard Preston, in the year 1551. (From the information kindly supplied by the present Rector, the Rev. I. S. Robertson from an unknown source.) This date is pure conjecture, and would appear to be too early. 1e

5. STAUNTON, John. ? Priest.

A. B. C. -

6. STAUNTON, William. ? Soldier.

A. B. -

C. A captain under Wyatt during the rebellion. (Venetian Cal. 1555-6 nos. 447, 489 Venetian Ambassador to Doge.)
Hanged May 19th 1556 at Tyburn. (ibid no. 489.)

DERBYSHIRE

1. FOLJAMBE, Nicholas. ? Gent.

A. B. -

C. From the date of his arrival in Geneva - Nov. 1556 - he is most likely the man who was "discharged and dismissed of the procurement of the ryott for the which his men were so rudly convicted.....", in 1556. (Brit. Mus.

Harl. ms. 2143 f. 4.) See W. Walton (Som.)

2. HORTON, Thomas. Catton. Deacon.

A. B. -

C. March 27th 1560 ordained priest by Grindal
(Strype Life of Grindal p. 38, 1710 ed.)

3. KIRK, Hugh. Whitehough. (C. H. Garrett op.cit.
209.) Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. His religious views may be judged from the
fact that, whilst at Oxford, he was a friend
of Peter Martyr, who asked Cecil to obtain a
license for him to preach, April 1553. (Brit.
Mus. Lans ms. III f. 37.)

LEICESTERSHIRE

1. BEAUMONT, Robert. ? Gent, later ordained.

A. -

B. 1561 Master of Trinity.
1564-5 Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.

C. His antecedents are uncertain. Possibly he
stood in some relation to that John Beaumont
who wrote one December to Thomas Cromwell,
begging permission to farm Braceden Abbey,
which, he says, the Bishop of Huntingdon is
trying to take from him. (Brit. Mus. Cotton.
ms. Cleop. E IV f. 254. The ms. is dated
merely December 28th.)

2. DANNET, Thomas. Bradgate. Gent.

A. 1551 Member of Sir William Pickering's em-
bassy to France.

B. 1563 Member of Sir Thomas Smith's embassy
to France to demand the return of Calais.
1566 Sent to the Emperor with certain messages.

(F. S. Thomas "Historical Notes" I 411. Cecil to Sydney. May 18th 1566.)

- C. A conspirator with the Suffolks. Possibly his sympathies had been aroused when a student at Lever's College - St. John's - at Cambridge. Besides spending a certain time in France, it is now known that he and Sir William Pickering went on to Italy and were there by May 1554. In 1558 they were in Brussels on their way home. (Cal. Sp. Papers XII p. 253. Renard to the Emperor. May 1554.) Upon his return, he joined John Hales in his campaign for the Suffolk claim to the throne. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 6990 f. 60-62. See also Lans. ms. 981 f. 99.) Aylmer, who acted as tutor to his son Thomas, a minor, during exile, in 1581 recommended his suitability to Burghley - his second cousin - for the post of Clerk of the Council. (Brit. Lans. ms. 35 f. 1.)

3. SMITH, Henry. ? Merchant, whose father made a fortune in the silk trade.

A. B. -

- C. Probably a Dudley conspirator - for he was imprisoned in March 1556 - i.e. at the time of the conspiracy - and condemned to perpetual prison. He was released, together with Sir William Courtenay and others, by order of the Council, acting upon the Queen's instructions, on December 14th 1556. (Brit. Mus. Egerton ms. 2618 f. 1.) Like Dannet, he, too, was related to the Cecils, for his uncle Erasmus married Margaret Cecil for his second wife. (D. E. Nelson, New College, Edinburgh, Ph.D. thesis 1939 p. 110.) He seems to have returned to undertake the importation of wines and wool with one Morley, possibly the exile from Sussex (q.v.). (Brit. Mus. Lans. mss. XVI art. 82, and Cal. S. P. Dom. Add. 1566-79 vol. XIV no. 21.)

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

1. FITZWILLIAM, Thomas. ? Gent.

A. -

B. 1559 M.P. for Weymouth Borough.

C. Probably a conspirator, for he was to be found in Padua in August 1554, and had already been there in 1548, and was there again in 1555 in the Earl of Bedford's train. (Camd. Misc. X Journal of Sir Thos. Hoby pp. 8 and 116 and Venetian Calendar 1555-6 nos. 169, 171.)

2. JOHNSON, John. Glapthorne. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. His identity is uncertain, but it is possible that he is one of that name, examined before the Court of Star Chamber, at the time of Cartwright's trial. It was then discovered that he was engaged, not only in the scheme for assembling seditious conventicles, but also in endeavouring to have certain ministers come from Northants. to hold disputation with the Bishops. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Chartae Misc. IV 190.)

3. STAFFORD, Robert. Blatherwick. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Brother-in-law of Anne Boleyn; a friend of Cromwell, of whom he begged the priory of "Fynshead", Northants, and of Worspring in Somerset. His request he prefaced with: "And where it may please yor mastership to call to yor good remembraunce that ye promysed me to be good master unto me when the tyme came" (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Cleop. E IV f. 241. Orig. letter, undated.) A follower of Dudley.

4. WALKER, Thomas. Castle Ashby. Deacon.

A. B. -

- C. It is likely that he is the preacher ordained deacon in 1551 by Ridley, and, who, being married, fled in 1555. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 318.) Upon his return he became an eminent minister at Ipswich, and Bishop Parkhurst of Norwich, when he died in 1575, bequeathed "To Dr. Walker the Precher a salt of silver and gilt." (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f. 112.) It would seem, therefore, that, like many of the exiles, he continued his studies abroad, and at some time after his return, took his D.D.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

1. PIGEON, John. Hemingford Grey ? Gent.
A. B. -
C. Related to Edward VI's Clerk of the Wardrobe. He returned to England and found favour under Mary. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p.250.)

BEDFORDSHIRE

1. COLE, Robert. Biggleswade. Gent. and preacher.
A. B. -
C. Originally one of those "sustainers" who assisted the exiles financially, and later one of their messengers. Besides being rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, and of All Hallows, Bread Street, some time in June 1568 the exile was collated by the Archbishop to Mersham Rectory, in the Deanery of Croydon. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker's Reg. I f. 386v.)
2. MASTERS, William. Willington. Gent.
A. B. -
C. In 1562 one of his name was a Proctor at Cambridge. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. V f. 61.)

1564 Dec. 1st. Described as "clerk",, admitted to the vicarage of Skipton under Wychwood. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 189v cf. C. H. Garrett op. cit. 224 who gives the date of admission as 1569.)
 1569 Vicar General of Norwich diocese. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Grindal's Reg. f. 133.) By now LL.D.
 1571 June 10th Admitted Advocate in the Court of Arches. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker's Reg. I f. 297r.)

3. RUSSEL, Francis. Earl of Bedford.

- A. 1545, 1547 M.P. Bucks County.
 1547 Sheriff of Bedfordshire.
 1548 Head of one of the Enclosure commissions.
 1553-80 Lord Warden of the Stanneries.
 1558 March 17th Lord Lieut. Dorset, Devon, Cornwall and Exeter. (Brit. Mus. Egerton ms. 2790 f. 66.) This appointment was also held under Elizabeth, for instructions are extant for the years 1559, 1569 and 1574.¹ (Ibid. ff. 67 and 70 cf. G. Scott Thomson, Lords Lieutenant in the 16 c. p. 48, and J. E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons p. 196. Towards the end of his life he was also Lord Lieutenant of Dorset.)
- B. 1558 Privy Councillor.
 1561 Embassy to France.
 1563 Nov. With Thomas Randolph, sent to sound Mary Queen of Scots upon her proposed marriage with Leicester. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31.2.19 mss. nos. 173, 174. Randolph to Elizabeth.)
 1564 Feb. Warden of E. Marches and Governor of Berwick. Commissioner to treat with Mary when news was heard of her marriage with Darnley. Lord Lieut. Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and of the Bishopric of Durham.

¹ Lords Lieutenant were not, of course, regularly appointed, but only in times of emergency, and then usually to districts with which they were familiar. The Russells had their origins in the West Country, and the Duke's appointment to the Lieutenancies in the North in 1564 was very much an exception, but his duties there were probably purely military.

1567 Retired in July from Wardenship due to ill health. (Reg. Ho. Border Corr. July 19th 1567.) He and Randolph worked much together in Scotland, and were responsible for supplying the Lords of the Congregation with money.

1576 Lord President of Wales.

1583/4 Feb. Chief Justice and Justice in Eyre of the royal forests S. of the Trent, although his health was by now bad.

- C. His protestant sympathies led him to sign the letters patent limiting the crown to Queen Jane, (Camd. Soc. XLVIII p. 99, Chronicle of Queen Jane.) and to be secretly concerned in Wyatt's rebellion, when he delivered letters from Wyatt to Princess Elizabeth. (Cal. Sp. Papers XII 140, 146.) His second son, John, married Sir Anthony Cooke's daughter, Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Hoby. (D.N.B. XVII 431 et seq.)

C A M B R I D G E S H I R E

1. CHEKE, Sir John. Cambridge. Regius Professor of Greek.

- A. 1542 Succeeded Richard Cox - afterwards Bishop of Ely - as Edward VI's tutor.
 1547, 1552-3 M.P. Bletchingley Borough.
 1548 Provost of King's College, Cambridge, by royal mandamus.
 1549 One of the Royal Visitors to Cambridge. Witness for the prosecution against Bonner and Gardiner.
 1552 August Permanent Chamberlain of the Exchequer.
 1553 June Secretary of State and P.C.

- B. Died 1557.

- C. Close friend of the foreign reformers, especially John a Lasco, associated with the Prayer Book Revision in 1552, and one of those who signed the letters patent limiting the crown to Queen Jane, there is little wonder that he fled, upon

being released from the Tower in Sept. 1554.

2. CUTTS, Sir John. Childersley. Gent.

- A. 1551 Sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.
- B. Died in Venice May 1555.
- C. Probably a conspirator, for in 1551 he had been in the train of the Marquess of Northampton on his embassy to France, which contained Sir Peter Carew. In the Spring of 1554 he was in that hot-bed of rebellion, Padua. (Camd. Misc. X Journal of Sir T. Hoby pp. 116, 120.)

3. STERN, John. ? Apothecary.

- A. B. C. -

4. VENTRIS, John. ? Servant.

- A. B. -

C. Footman to Edward VI (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 317.)

N O R F O L K

1. ALLEN, Edmund. ? Deacon.

- A. 1549 Chaplain to Princess Elizabeth.
- B. 1559 Diplomatic agent for Cecil on the Continent. (Cal. S.P. For. 1558-9 no. 867.)
- C. A friend of Catherine Parr, who chose him to translate the Paraphrases of Erasmus. Succeeded Dr. Weston, the Catholic, in the Rectory of Cliffe-at-Hoo (Arch. Cant. XV pp. 240-241). On May 9th 1559 he was presented by Elizabeth to the parish church of Clive, deanery of Shoreham. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. U 2 f. 16r.) He died in August 1559. Possibly the William Allen, cited for heresy

before the Bishop of Norwich, and described as a labourer, about 1556, was some relation. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 421 f. 201.)

2. ASHLEY, John. Melton Constable and Hilmorton. Gent.

- A. 1549 Cofferer to Princess Elizabeth. (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. I no. 258.)
1553 M.P. Looe.
- B. Master of the Jewel House at a fee of £50 p.a. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.1. f. 26.)
1563 M.P. ("Mr Ashbie of the Jewel House". D'Ewes Journal 1684 ed. p. 127.)
1572 M.P. Lyme Regis Borough.
1586 M.P. Maidstone Borough.
1588 M.P. Maidstone Borough.
- C. Cousin of Queen Elizabeth, and friend of Ascham, whom he introduced to Court. Probably a conspirator, for he fled to Padua in August 1554. (Camd. Misc. X. Journal of Sir T. Hoby, p. 116.)
As his second wife, he married Margaret, daughter of Lord John Grey.

3. AYLMER, John. Aylmer Hall. Archdeacon.

- A. Tutor to Lady Jane, and also to the children of his patron, Lord Grey.
- B. 1559 Protestant disputant at the Westminster Conference.
1576 Bishop of London.
1572, '76, '84, Member of the High Commission in the S. Province. (R. G. Usher op.cit. p.345.)
- C. His connections lead one to suspect that he was concerned in conspiracy.
There has been doubt cast upon Aylmer's stay at Zurich during his exile, as mentioned by Strype. (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 76 and D.N.B. I 753.) But a contemporary copy of an undated letter from Aylmer as Bishop of London, written to Harvey, the Lord Mayor of that city, in which the latter is upbraided

for using the London clergy too severely, mentions the Bishop's stay in Zurich, and Strype is therefore correct. (Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing ms. III 193 f. 105, Aylmer to Harvey, March 1st, 1581/2.)

4. BARTHOLOMEW, John. Salthouse. (Nicolas VII Acts of the P.C. 265.) Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Either the father or the son, for they were both John, was summoned before the Privy Council in 1541, in connection with the conveyance of corn. One of the same name "John Fowntayne, otherwise Bartovyle," was indicted as a Dudley conspirator and fled Feb. 3rd, 1556. (P.R.O. Baga de Secretis p. 252.) The exile died abroad, and another Norfolk man, (see below) Thomas Steward, stood as god parent to his posthumous son.

5. BECON, Thomas. ? Priest.

A. 1547-8 One of Cranmer's and Somerset's chaplains. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 f. 11.)

B. Preached at Pauls Cross.

C. Twice made to recant under Henry VIII with a later fellow exile, Robert Wisdom. On Aug. 16th 1553, he was committed to the Tower for seditious preaching; being released, he fled March 1554. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 f. 11.) In 1553 John Day was licensed to print all books of Becon, described as "Professor of Divinity" (P.R.O. Pat. Rolls, March 25th Edward VI). It is, therefore, not surprising to find Becon collaborating in exile with Ponet over "The Confession of the Banished Ministers" in 1554, and taking it to Day for printing. In 1560, besides being returned to his benefices of Brenzet, Kent, St. Stephens Walbrook, and collated to a canonry at Canterbury, Buckland Rectory in Hertfordshire, to Christ Church, Newgate Street, and to St. Dionis Backchurch (D.N.B. II 94), he was also presented to the

Vicarage of Sturrey, near Canterbury and still a small hamlet, on April 3rd 1562. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 241v and 354r.)

6. BERKELEY, Gilbert. ? Priest, ex-religious.

A. -

B. 1560 Bishop of Bath and Wells.

C. He died in 1581, and the permanence of friendships formed abroad is testified by his will in which he left bequests to 3 exiles. "To Thomas Eaton the younger, John Escotte his father-in-law to eche of them so much goulde as will make a ringe of remembraunce, with myne armes therein...." This, perhaps, was done in gratitude for financial help given by these merchants during exile. The elder Heton had been one of those who had "sustained" them originally, whilst Escot, from the tax-list of Frankfurt, Berkeley's city of exile, seems to have been a rich man, and no doubt assisted his poorer countrymen there. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 151.) Two other merchants at Frankfurt were the Rawlins brothers, who perhaps also distributed alms, but, like certain others upon their return, their business fell upon hard times. Berkeley had apparently lent the family £480 upon their return, and in his will gave them £50 of that sum. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 f. 10.)

7. BROME, John. Norwich? (see below) Gent and student.

A. B. -

C. There is a tomb in the S. aisle of Norwich Cathedral, in which lies one Richard Brome. The monument is undated, but from the architecture appears to be late 16th century. In view of the unusual name, and for lack of further evidence, it has been presumed that the exile came also from that district. As in the case of certain others, it is hard to

decide whether he was abroad to study at Padua in the normal course of events, or whether Mary's accession urged him to study there - perhaps both factors played a part.

8. DODMAN, John. Norwich. Deacon.

A. B. -

C. His views may be supposed extreme from the fact that he and John Pulleyn, another exile, were summoned before the Council in April 1559 for preaching at Colchester without a license. He later received preferment by Grindal. (Dasent VII p. 87.)

9. HARLESTONE, Robert. Mattishall. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Brother-in-law to Archbishop Parker, who married his sister Margaret. Another brother, Simon, also in orders, had been driven from the town for heresy. (Foxe A and M VIII 147.)

10. HARRISON, Richard. ? Gent.

A. B. -

C. A member of John Knox's congregation in Geneva, but the relations of this returned exile with John Browne, the Separatist, affords an interesting glimpse into the quandaries in which some of these men found themselves upon their return and consequent disappointment at the Elizabethan settlement. Harrison, a Norfolk man, met Browne in Cambridge and became very friendly, so that when Browne was forbidden to preach in Cambridge by Bancroft, he resolved to go into Norfolk, having heard of the prevalence of Independent views there; but the two getting on so well, Browne resolved to remain a little longer at Cambridge. "Harrison was," says Mr. Champlin Burrage, "with some difficulty largely won over to his friend's opinions," but he seems to have felt no little hesitation in giving up his

liking for such Puritan preachers as the Rev. John More and one "Mr. Robardes". Now More was the incumbent of St. Andrews, Norwich, which was practically "a congregational church in the Church of England." (Early English Dissenters I 96 and C. Burrage Tercentenary Memorial, New Facts concerning John Robertson p. 21.) That is to say, like most exiles returned from Geneva, Harrison owned extreme opinions, but found great difficulty in deciding the burning question: should one tarry for the Magistrate?

11. HILTON, John. ? Ex-religious.

A. B. -

C. Like so many of the lesser men; they have left behind so little mark that one can gather nothing of their background.

12. MACHET, John. ? Priest.

A. B. -

C. A follower of Robert Horne's party at Frankfurt, at some time before 1570 he became his Almoner, when the former was Bishop of Winchester. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker's Reg. I f. 399v.) Previously to this, he had been presented to the parish church of St. Clements Bridge, diocese of Norwich, Aug. 29th, 1560, (Ibid. f. 154v.) and on May 24th, 1570, to the living of Orpington, Shoreham Deanery. (Ibid. f. 293.) Since this lay in one of the Archbishop's nine Peculiars, it is very likely that this man was he who also became chaplain to the Archbishop in 1574. (C. H. Garrett op. cit. 223.)

13. RAYME, Thomas. Hempton? Gent.

A. B. -

C. Probably a conspirator, for he was in Venice in 1555, in the train of the Earl of Bedford. (P.R.O. Venetian Cal. 1555-6 nos. 169 and 171.)

14. RUGGE, John. ? Gent.

A. B. -

C. Like Thomas Rayme, he, too, followed the Earl of Bedford in Venice (see above), and so was probably a conspirator. I can find no mention of a B.C.L. in any connection with this man (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. 275), but in 1572, described as M.A., he became Archdeacon of Wells, and in August 1573, he was admitted to the church of Wynford (in Dorset or Somerset). (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 f. 14.)

15. SANDELL, Richard. Lynn. Merchant.

A. B. C. -

16. SCORY, John. ? Bishop of Rochester.

A. Bishop of Rochester 1551.
One of the Commission to revise ecclesiastical laws.

B. 1559 One of the Protestant Disputants at the Westminster Conference.
Bishop of Hereford.

C. In 1541 he had been one of Cranmer's 6 preachers at Canterbury, and ten years later he circulated the Archbishop's "Declaration concerning the Mass." As Miss Garrett has suggested, he did, in fact, return to Emden in 1558 as Superintendent of the church there. (op.cit. p. 286 and Foxe A and M VIII 540.)

17. STEWART, Thomas. ? Gent and student.

A. B. -

C. Godfather to John Bartholomew's posthumous son Gerson (q.v. above).

18. WATSON, Robert. Norwich. Steward to Cranmer.

A. B. -

C. He was imprisoned in Feb. 1553/4 by order of the Council, but the cause is not given. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 f. 139.) He died intestate, and his goods were administered Feb. 25th., 1574/5, when he was described as "nuper de Wilton in comitatu Norfolkie." (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker's Reg. II f. 63v.) Being an elderly man, he may have accepted no employment upon his return from exile.

19. WYNDHAM, Sigismund. Felbrigge. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Since he was at Padua, in Sir Thomas Hoby's company, it is likely that he was a conspirator.

20. WYNDHAM, Thomas. Felbrigge. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Probably a conspirator, he was in the Earl of Bedford's train at Venice. (Venetian Cal. 1555-6 nos. 169, 171.) He did not die, however, until 1599 (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 347 and ref. which gives the date provisionally as 1592, and Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 32478 f. 151a, rubbing of his sepulchral brass at Felbrigge.)

SUFF F O L K

1. AGAR, Thomas. Colchester. Artisan.

A. B. -

C. Came to Geneva with his widowed mother who there married Thomas Spenser, later ordained by Grindal and subsequently Archdeacon of Chichester. Of his step-son there is no record. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 292.)

2. BALE, John. Norwich. Bishop.

A. 1552 Bishop of Ossory.

B. -

- C. Probably a Wyatt conspirator, and a rabid reformer from early years, for which he had to go abroad under Henry VIII - "one Bale a whyte freer of Doncaster taught.....about a iv yeres ago that Criste wolde dwell in no church that was made of brycke and stone by mannes hande but onelie in heaven above." (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Cleop. E V f. 397, circa 1537, matters relating to heresy.) In Cromwell's later years, he was imprisoned, and wrote to his patron for help, describing himself as a Doctor of Divinity, and "late parysh pryst of Thornden" - i.e. he had been deprived -. He rails hotly, in his letter, against the Duke of Suffolk. (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Cleop. E IV f. 167, undated letter, Bale to Cromwell.) In Feb. 1559/60, he was made a canon at Canterbury, and in Jan. 21st, 1563/4 his will was proved there in the Consistory Court, his wife Dorothy being executrix. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. V I. Extracts Reg. Dean and Chap. f. 60 and Kent Co. Record Office ms. C Act 6 f. 1.)

3. BETTS, William. Hadleigh. Weaver.

A. B. -

- C. He and his wife and other weavers lived together in a house in Aarau (from Archives of Aarau in C. H. Garrett op.cit.355).

4. CHESTON, William. Hadleigh. Weaver.

A. B. -

- C. Lived with his wife in the same house as Betts (above).

5. COOKE, Richard. Hadleigh. Weaver.

A. B. -

- C. Lived with his wife in the same house as Betts and Cheston (above).

6. CORNWALLIS, Henry. Brome. Gent.

A. 1553 M.P. Oxford Borough.

B. -

C. Possibly a Wyatt conspirator, for he was in Padua in 1554. He returned however, in 1555, possibly because his brother, Sir Thomas, was a staunch Catholic and a P.C. under Mary, and may have sought favour for him. It is interesting to find that the living of which John Ferrar (below) was deprived, was in the presentation of Sir Thomas. There can be little doubt that Henry connived at his entry there. On May 28th 1554 a Thomas Cornwallis, possibly a relative with religious views similar to Henry's, resigned from the Rectory of Thrandeston, Suffolk. (Norwich Reg. Institution Book XVIII f. 120r.)

Like many conspirators, he returned to receive no office under the crown, although in 1588 he was in receipt of an annuity of £60. (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. II no. 647.)

7. FERRAR, John. Stuston. Priest.

A. B. -

C. On April 24th, 1554 his case in the Consistory Court, brought against him for some unspecified malpractice, was dismissed, yet on May 8th 1554, sentence of deprivation from the parish church of Stuston was passed against him, but no reason is recorded. (Norwich Reg. Inst. Bk. XVIII f. 49r and Act Bk. Consistory Court 1553-8 April 24th.) (See also Cornwallis above.)

8. INFORDBY, Andrew (and Joan). Ipswich. Gent and clothier.

A. B. -

C. A hitherto unremarked exile, Joan Infordby married Lawrence Humphrey at Geneva. She was, it seems, the daughter of Andrew Infordby, and it is likely that he too was in exile, unless Joan went abroad as a servant in some large household.

On Feb. 28th 1553/4 Infordby entered into a recogni-

recognisance of 100 marks to attend before the Privy Council when requested. Possibly he was in some way involved with the Suffolk rising. (Dasent IV p.401.)

Joan died Aug. 27th 1611, at the age of 74, having been a widow 23 years and a wife 30, so that she was married circa 1558. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 f. 128.)

9. LAURENCE, Edmund. ? Yeoman and preacher.

A. B. -

C. One of those imprisoned with Thomas Mountain in the Marshalsea, to whom Wyatt sent one of his chaplains to ask if they would be delivered out of prison. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 425 ff. 108, 109, from Mountain's own a/c of his arrest.) He and Mountain had both been previously examined in the Tower about the publication of certain pamphlets derogatory to King Philip and Queen Mary (Ibid).
It is likely that he stood in some relationship to Nicholas Lawrence, to whom the Duke of Suffolk fled when he saw that Wyatt's rising had failed. Nicholas was Keeper of one of the Duke's parks, and hid the Duke "in a hollow oak in the said Park for two or three days." (Baker, Chronicles of the Kings of England 1733 p. 319 and Cal. Sp. Papers XII 85.)
Suspended from preaching by order, not only of the Council, but also of the Queen in 1579, although Cecil himself and another had written to his bishop on his behalf. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 30 ff. 147, 148, Bishop of Norwich to Calthorpe, and Calthorpe to Burghley, March 29th 1579 and April 31st 1580. The former contains the exact words to be found in Strype's Annals and must be his source, cf. Annals II ii 267, 383.)

10. PEDDER, John. Redgrave. Priest.

A. B. -

C. No reason can be discovered for this man's exile.

11. PENNY, John. ? Taylor (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 421 f. 164).

A. B. -

C. It is possible, since he appears in Frankfurt in December 1557, that he was the John Penny against whom certain articles of heresy were objected, probably in that same year, by the Bishop of Norwich. He was sentenced to abjuration, but it is likely that he preferred flight to recantation. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 421 f. 164.)

12. PLAYSTOW, ?. Hadleigh. Physician.

A. B. -

C. Another of those who had fled from Hadleigh (see R. Cooke and others above). He shared a house at Aarau with his host and with Coverdale. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 355, 356, Archives of Aarau.)

13. SAMPSON, Thomas. Playford. Chichester, Dean of.

A. -

BB. 1560 Preacher to the Royal Visitors in the North.

1561 Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

C. He and Richard Chambers collected money for the exiles in London, and fled in the Spring of 1554. In Frankfurt they stayed in the good Justice Isaac's hired house. (Strype Eccles. Mem. III pt. I 231 (1822 ed.) and Brooke, Lives of the Puritans I 375.)

E S S E X

1. ALVEY, Richard. Sandon (Essex Arch. Soc. III ms. p. 59.) Priest.

A. B. -

C. He was married, and in 1552 he had handed over most of the church goods of Sandon, Chelmsford, to the visitors (the purpose of the Visitation being to assign all such goods, save the bare minimum, to the King's use). Possibly these two reasons, coupled with the new doctrines that he had acquired whilst a member of Thomas Lever's college at Cambridge, were sufficient to warrant his deprivation. Besides his other livings (cf. D.N.B. I 349) he also held Greenstead, near Colchester 1546-48. (Essex Arch. Soc. III ms. p. 59.)

2. AUGUSTINE, Walter. "Writtell" Gent.

A. B. C. -

3. BAKER, Reignolde. ? Under Sheriff of Essex? (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 2143 f. 6 Star Chamber Records.)

A. B. -

C. In 1557 one "Baker", under Sheriff of Essex, was committed to the Fleet for disobeying the King's writ and for contempt of court. It is possible, although there is no further evidence, that he may be the man who arrived in Frankfurt in July that same year. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 77 and Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 2143 f. 6.)

4. BEST, Robert. Colchester. Preacher.

A. B. -

C. One of the sect called "known men" and "brothers in Christ". On March 16th 1527/8 he was examined before Fitzjames, chief Justice of the King's Bench, together with many others. A deponent said of Best that he "had knowledge in the Epistle of James and could say them by hart and he has been taken totally by the space of a twelf month last part for a known man and a broder in Crist among them that be called brothers in Crist and knowen men". Another deponent said Best had

been of this fraternity for "iii yers or ther about". (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 421 ff. 21 and 25.) He is therefore of immediate interest as a direct link between the older Lollard reform movement and the new reformation sprung partly from it.

It is uncertain whether he was the one Best who attached himself as some sort of servant to the Embassy in Paris, as soon as peace with France was settled. If so he served Walsingham as a secret agent, endeavouring to discover the Spanish plans for the invasion of Ireland in 1580, but being discovered, was assassinated. (Cal. S.P. For. 1579-80 nos. 300 and 352.)

It is possible, however, although no record of his ordination has been found, that he is the Robert Best, described as priest, instituted to the parish church of Toft, Norwich, Feb. 13th 1559/60. (Norwich Reg. Parkhurst's Reg. ms. XIX f. 23r.)

5. BLACKMAN, Robert. Colchester. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Possibly a relative of William Blackman forced to abjure under Henry VIII. (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit.92 and ref.)

6. CAUNT or GAUNT, Edward or Edmund. Tillingham.
(Essex Arch. Soc. V (o.s.) 231.)
Gent (and churchwarden).

A. B. -

C. Churchwarden in May 1552, at Tillingham, near Dengie, and as such, handed over most of the church goods to the Visitors (see Alvey above).

7. CHESTON, George. Chelmsford. Weaver.

A. B. -

C. Possibly a brother of William, from Suffolk (q.v.) - also a weaver and an exile in Aarau.

8. COOKE, Sir Anthony. Gidea Hall. Gent.

- A. Tutor to Edward VI.
1547. M.P. Lewes.
One of the Visitors to inspect the dioceses of London, Westminster, Norwich and Ely.
1551 One of the Disputants on the Sacrament in Cecil's house.
- B. 1559 M.P. Essex County.
Commissioner for visiting the dioceses of Sarum, Bristol, Bath and Wells, Norwich, Ely, Cambridge University, and Eton College.
1564 J.P. Essex. (Camd. Misc. IX 62 Letters of Bishops to the P.C.)
1559, 1562, 1572, 1576 Member of the High Commission.
1573 Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer.
- C. For his suspected complicity in the affair of Jane Grey he was imprisoned in the Tower, July 1553.

9. COOKE, Richard. Gidea Hall. Gent.

- A. 1547 Groom of the Privy Chamber. (P.R.O. L and P. H VIII XXI pt. II no. 774.)
1553 M.P. Stamford Borough.
- B. 1559 M.P. Preston, Lancs.
1563 M.P. Tavistock Borough.
1584 M.P. Lympington Borough.
- C. Son of Sir Anthony.

10. CORNWALL, Robert. ? Gent.

A. B. -

- C. A Dudley conspirator. (P.R.O. Baga de Secretis p. 253-4.)
Possibly he who settled near Canterbury and died intestate, his goods being administered Oct. 17th 1576. Apparently he had no family. (Kent Co. Record Office ms. A Act 20 f. 22r. Archdeacons Act Book.)

11. CRAWLEY, Thomas. Wendon Lofts. Gent.

A. -

B. 1559 M.P. Aylesbury.

C. A purchaser of chantry lands under Edward VI.
(Strype Eccles. Mem. II pt.II p. 404.)

12. DANIEL, John. Messing. (P.R.O. Star Ch. 2
12/92-105.) Gent.

A. B. -.

C. Possibly related to the John Danyell who was hanged on July 6th 1556 for his part in the Dudley conspiracy. (Camd. Soc. LXII Machyn's diary pp. 109,351 and P.R.O. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 p.79 and Froude, History of Eng. VI p. 7.)

His cousin Margery - or Mary - had married Roger Wentworth, whose family were concerned in Dudley's plots (see Roger Parker, Essex, below, and Edward Boyes, Kent, below).

He may be he of whom the churchwardens of Lees Magna complained in 1552 that he "dyd sell vi torches for iiiis. and vid. whiche was employed to the poore mens boxe". (Essex Arch. Soc. XIII ms. p. 161.)

13. DONNELL, Thomas. Toppesfield. B.D.

A. B. -

C. A favourite of Grindal, it seems, who, in 1560, gave him a Commission for the Consistory of Stortford. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 145 and ref.) This Commission was repeated May 23rd 1570. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 202v.)

14. EDMUNDS, Robert. Fyfield ? Gent and preacher.

A. B. -

C. Later he became a member of the Classical movement. (Camd.Soc. 3rd series no. 8. p. xxxix R. G. Usher Presbyterian movement in the reign of Eliz.) In July 1579 Grindal granted him

a license to preach in the dioceses of Canterbury, London, Winchester and Rochester.
(Lamb. Pal. Lib. Grindal Reg. f. 177r.)

15. FIELD, Robert. West Mersey ? (Essex Arch. Soc.
ms. XIII 167.) Gent.

A. B. -

C. Possibly one of the two churchwardens of West Mersey who, about 1548, confessed that, with the consent of the parish, they had sold some of the church plate.
1562 Rowland Hall, once his fellow exile in Geneva, published Field's edition of "The lawes and statutes of Geneva". (C. H. Martin, *Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés à Geneve.*)
Probably the father of John Field of the Classical Movement.

16. GREY, John. Braintree. Gent ?

A. B. -

C. Since this exile cannot be Lord John Grey of Pyrgo, who was still in the Tower in September 1554, when the exile arrived at Frankfurt, it seems likely that he is the heretic, examined upon certain articles about the year 1550 (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 421 f. 133). His answers reveal him as one of those sectaries, who, as Strype remarks, "were the first that made separation from the reformed church of England," and he is one whom Strype names in person. (Eccles. Mem. III Bk. I p. 370, 1822 ed.)

17. HARRIS, Edmund. Southminster or Buntingford, Herts.
(Dasent V 216.) Gent.

A. B. - Possibly died abroad.

C. Jan. 4th 1555/6, he and William Hammond of Kent made their personal appearance before the Privy Council. Hammond was later proclaimed a traitor, for his part in the Dudley conspiracy and fled. It is likely that Harris

too was a conspirator. (Dasent V p. 216.)

18. PARKER, Roger (or Robert). Kirby. Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

- C. He married the daughter of Roger Wentworth of Bocking, and so was related to John Daniel (above Essex). He was one of those who "sustained" the exiles abroad. Upon his return, he seems to have received ordination. On Jan. 11th 1562/3 he was appointed a Proctor in the Court of Arches. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 244.) In 1571 he became rector of N. Burflete, Essex. In 1572 rector of W. Henningfield, Essex, and finally pastor of Dedham. Suspended by Whitgift for refusing to subscribe to his 3 Articles, he fled abroad in 1598, having published "De Descensu Christi ad Infernos" to refute Bishop Bilson's work. He died soon after at Duisberg. (T. Smith, Memoirs of Eminent Divines 1828 ed. p. 318.) One of the Parkers of Essex, in 1527, was taken as a "known man", when it was said of him that "23 yers agon" he "was abjured and dyd bere a fagot as it was openly said in the countie ther after his comyng home". There was, therefore, a long-standing history of protestantism in the family. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 421 ff. 23, 24, 26.)

19. POYNTZ, Gabriel. N. Ockenden. Gent.

A. -

- B. 1577 and 1589 Sheriff of Essex. (Sir J. Maclean, Family of Poyntz, I pp. 38, 39.)
- C. Son of Thomas Poyntz the friend of Tyndale, at whose house in Antwerp the latter was arrested.

20. PUNTE, William. Colchester (Strype Annals 1824 ed. I pt. I 378).
Anabaptist, writer and messenger for the exiles.

A. B. -

C. Called by Strype (Ibid.) a leading heretic of Colchester.

In 1557 he, Robert Coles and John Ledley, who used to frequent the Kings Bench Prison in search of converts, conveyed from abroad a barrel full of Anabaptist literature. Foxe adds that the latter two went over also "about questions of religion to the learned that were over, to know their counsel in the matter". (Foxe A and M VIII 384.)

21. REYNOLDS, Roger. W. Thorock. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Possibly a Dudley conspirator, he fled abroad to France, joined Stafford's abortive expedition to Scarborough, and was executed in Yorkshire in 1557.

22. ROBSON, Anthony. Chelmsford. Brewer.

A. B. -

C. Possibly related to Reynold Robson, apprehended as a chief conspirator in July 1555 (Dasent V p. 159.)

23. TAVERNER, John. Upminster. Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. From an entry in Grindal's Register (Lamb. Pal. Lib. f. 351) it is likely that the exile was not, as has been suggested, Elizabeth's Surveyor of Woods, (C. H. Garrett op.cit. where for Lansdowne read also Harleian, and D.N.B. XIX 393), but the clerk of that name, deprived from the Rectory of Woodeaton, August 1st 1577. His uncle Richard's home was at Wood Eaton, Oxford, and it was by his patronage that he received this living June 23rd 1575 (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. II ff. 112v and 119r). There must, however, have been some query about his fitness to hold a living, for, on June 21st 1575, letters dimissory were drawn up for John Taverner B.A.

to receive deacon's and priest's orders, (Ibid. f. 109v) and on Nov. 29th occurs another entry to the effect that he had been presented to Woodeaton by the Queen. (Ibid. f. 119r.) On Nov. 10th 1574, John was also collated to the Rectory of Dodington. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. II f. 87v.)

24. TRULOVE, Anthony. ? Gent.

A. B. -

C. Probably a conspirator, and found with the Earl of Bedford in Venice July 1555. (Venetian Cal. 1555-6 nos 169, 171.)

25. UPCHER, Thomas. Bocking. Weaver.

A. B. -

C. Imprisoned in 1555 with other sectaries from Bocking, he took part in a disputation over predestination with others in the Kings Bench, and, being released, fled to Frankfurt, via Wesel, in 1557. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 317.) In that summer, he went with Thomas Lever to Geneva, in order to discuss with Knox what might be the best approach to adopt regarding the new Church at Aarau. (Troubles of Frankfurt CLXXXV.) He did not, however, go straight to Aarau, but returned to Basle, where John Knox wrote to him on August 1st. It would appear that, as usual among the many factions abroad, the discussions had been unsatisfactory, and, Upcher being an extremist of Knox's persuasion, the latter wrote encouraging him along those lines. (Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing ms. III 345 ff. 438 et seq. contemp. copy of a letter Knox to "Thomas Upcher Englishman", Aug. 1st 1557.) It was only then that Upcher moved to Aarau (cf. C. H. Garrett ibid.), and upon his return, was ordained deacon by Grindal, April 25th 1560. Besides the rectory of Fordham, he was also licensed to hold that of St. Leonard's on June 2nd 1572, at which time

he was designated as chaplain to the Lord Wentworth. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. Lit. B 2 Extracts from Court of Faculties folio unnumbered.) He had, therefore risen high, yet he resigned from St Leonard's in 1582, having joined the Classical Movement.

26. WILKINSON, Rowland. Goldhanger ? Gent.

A. B. Died at Aarau, July 1557. (Archives of Aarau in C. H. Garrett op.cit. 356.)

C. Possibly the son of Jane Wilkinson, one of those who had originally "sustained" the exiles, and a friend of Cranmer. (Ibid. 334.)

HERTFORDSHIRE

1. ABBOT, Nicholas. Brantfield. Priest.

A. B. -

C. Cited for non-residence at Easter 1556 in Pole's Visitation of Lincolnshire, and therefore possibly a relative of Robert Abbot, who resigned the Rectory of Foxholes 1554. (York Dioc. Reg. ms. list Tudor Clergy by J. S. Purvis, Archivist.)

2. DENNY, Anthony. Cheshunt. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Probably a Wyatt conspirator like those whose company he kept in Padua during exile (Camd. Misc. X 116.).

3. DENNY, Charles. Cheshunt. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Brother of Anthony. Their aunt, Martha, Denny, married Sir Wymond Carew, who had 2 sons in exile.
Probably a conspirator.

4. DENNY, Henry. Cheshunt. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Eldest brother of Anthony and Charles, and son of Sir Anthony, Henry VIII's P.C. A refugee at Padua, and like his brothers, probably a conspirator, Both he and Anthony were admitted to the Middle Temple upon their return.

5. ELYOT, Magnus. Stortford. Gent.

A. B. -

C. It is possible that this man stood in some degree of relationship to John Elyot, Gresham's factor in Antwerp 1552. (Dasent IV p. 229.) Miss Garrett says that his uncle was "John Elliott of London Mercer", who may be the factor in question. The prevalence of protestantism amongst the merchants in Antwerp may account for the nephew's arrival in Frankfurt in 1557. His father, George Elyot, had died in 1554, leaving his son a minor, possibly in the care of his uncle.

6. GILL, Michael. Widdial. Gent and merchant. (York Dean and Chap. Lib. ms. H.3 (4) f. 4, Chapter Visitations.)

A. B. -

C. March 13th 1566 Appointed Bailiff of the Liberties of St. Peter's York, which position he seems to have held until 1576, which may possibly mark the date of his death. (Ibid. ff. 5r,92,95)

7. MORISON, Sir Richard. Cassiobury. Gent.

A. 1539 M.P. as Thomas Cromwell's agent. (W. G. Zeeveld, Foundations of Tudor Govt. 230.) 1539 April Member of the Privy Chamber ? (Ibid. 227, and L and P Hen. VIII XIV (1) no. 733.) 1547 Ambassador to the Hanse towns. M.P. for Wareham ? (J. Foster Alumni Oxon. but see C. H. Garrett op.cit.229 note 1.)

1550-53 Ambassador to the Emperor, having sued unsuccessfully to be appointed to Venice upon his friend Edmund Harvel's recall. (Nat. Lib. Scot. Hist. ms. 34.2.14 orig. letter Scudamore to Hoby, letter no. 3, Feb. 23rd, 1550/51.

B. Died abroad 1556.

C. A great friend of many of the reformers, and especially of John a Lasco. Involved in a roundabout way in conspiracy, for he injudiciously referred to Guildford Dudley as King, in a letter to the Council. (Camd. Soc. XLVIII p. 108.) In Feb. 1553/4 he asked for license to withdraw to Germany, which was granted by April 7th. (Cal. Sp. Papers XII pp. 157, 214.) By June 4th he had left, by which time authority was looking for him because of a scurrilous ballad which he had broadcast in the London streets against Philip and Mary. He then endeavoured to enlist the support of Otto Heinrich, the Elector Palatine's nephew. (Ibid. 267, 269.)

8. PRETTY, John. Origin uncertain (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 261.) Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. Upon his return he was instituted a canon in the church of the B.V.M., Southwell, and also a prebend there, March 2nd 1562/3. His brother Richard is described as a merchant of Gray's Inn at this time. (York Dioc. Reg. Dioc. of York Act.Bk. II ff. 20, 21v.)

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

1. BICKLEY, Thomas. Stowe. Deacon and Vice President Magdalen 1553.

A. One of the King's Chaplains at Windsor.

B. 1584 Member of the High Commission. (R. G. Usher op.cit. 346.)

1585 Bishop of Chichester.

- C. Expelled from Oxford at Gardiner's Visitation. He returned to England soon after Mary's death, for on Jan. 30th 1558/9 one, Edmund Hare, "scholler in Peterhouse wthin the Universitie of Cambridge", sued him to return £87.10.0, though under what circumstances does not appear. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 f. 188.)
On March 9th 1562/3 he became one of Parker's chaplains.

2. BUNNY, Richard. Chalfont St. Giles. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 983 f. 185.) Gent.

- A. 1552 Paymaster in the North and Treasurer of Berwick. (Dasent. IV p. 5,55.)
- B. -
- C. In Nov. 1553 it was discovered that he had "heretofore medled with paymentes", at Berwick and so on Feb. 22nd 1553/4 he was ordered to appear before the Lords of the Council. (Dasent IV pp. 366 and 396.) He subsequently fled abroad.
He married Bridget Restwood, of the Vache, and since both his sons, Edmund in 1540, and Francis in 1543, were born there, it would seem that he had settled in Bucks by this time. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 983 ff. 173,185.) (See G. Railton, London.)

3. COX, Richard. Whaddon. Priest and Deacon.

- A. 1537 Chaplain to Henry VIII and to Cranmer.
1544 Tutor and Almoner to Edward VI.
Employed in the compilation of the First and Second Prayer Books.
1552 Chancellor Oxford University.
- B. 1559 One of the Visitors for Oxford, preacher at Pauls Cross. Bishop of Ely.
- C. With Ridley and Cheke, considered responsible for sanctioning Lady Jane's proclamation. (Parker Soc. Orig. Letters II 684.) Upon his return from exile, he married Jane, widow of William Turner - an exile also -. (Brit. Mus.

Lans. ms. 982 f. 6 and 981 f. 49).

4. DAVIES, Richard. Burnham. Priest.

A -

- B. 1559 Visitor for the four Welsh dioceses, and for Hereford and Worcester.
- 1560 Bishop of St. Asaphs.
- 1561 Translated to St. Davids.
- 1572, '76 Member of the High Commission. (R. G. Usher op. cit. p. 349.)
- 1565, 1578 Commissioned to suppress piracy. (Dasent VII p. 283, and D.N.B. V 600 which only gives the latter appointment.)

- C. A favourite of Edward VI, who had presented him to Burnham in 1550. Possibly he had been out with Wyatt, for on Sept. 19th 1553 "Syr Richard Davys, Vicare of Burnham", was ordered "to make his indelaied repaire to the Courte" (i.e. of Star Chamber). (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 f. 129.)

5. FINCH, John. Stowe. Priest.

A. B. -

- C. Abroad in the reign of Henry VIII, he had become a friend of Bucer. (Orig. Letters II 605.)

6. FISHER, - Amersham. Priest.

A. B. -

- C. Possibly John Fisher, incumbent of Amersham; one of the Russels had been a previous incumbent; whilst, under Elizabeth, the Earl of Bedford was patron of this living (Notice in Parish Church, Amersham). But his identity is undertain, he may be the Alexander Fisher, secured by the sherriff of Kent in Feb. 1553, according to orders from the Council against certain followers of Wyatt. (Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 34152 f. 4 R. Southwell to Lords of the Council Feb. 10th.) (See Fisher, Kent, below.)

7. HADDON, James. ? Dean of Exeter.

- A. 1551 Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk and tutor to his daughter, Lady Jane.

B. Died abroad 1556.

C. Bishop Hooper of Gloucester's messenger to Bullinger, bearing a letter from the former. (Parker Soc. Orig. Letters 103.)

8. HUMPHREY, Laurence. Newport Pagnel. Gent.

A. -

B. 1560 Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford.
1561 President of Magdalen College.
1571-76 Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.
1576 With Arthur Saule, another exile, visited the diocese of Gloucester. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Grindal Reg. f. 109r.)
1578 Sent to the Diet at Smalcald with Thomas Wilson to confer with the brethren there concerning the controversy over the Lord's Supper.
1582 Appointed by the Privy Council to take part in the conferences with the Catholics.
1584 Again Visited the diocese of Gloucester. (D.N.B. X 245.)

C. A convinced reformer who, whilst President of Magdalen, stocked his college with nonconformists. With Sampson, he refused for some years to wear the required Vestments.

9. KENT, Laurence. Linford. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. A friend of John Foxe the Martyrologist, by whom the former at Basle dispatched certain gifts to his brother-in-law at Geneva. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 416 f. 70.) Kent's sojourn in Basle has been hitherto overlooked. A friend also of that Scottish "archheretic" John Macbraine, who stood godfather to his son. (Troubles of Frankfurt LXI.)

10. PUREFOY, Luke. Shalstone. Gent ?

A. B. -

C. There is very little that is known about the antecedents of this man. It has been suggested that he is "our friend Luke", referred to by

Sir Richard Morison in a letter to Bullinger, April 17th 1555. (Orig. Letters I 148 and C. H. Garrett op.cit. 264.) The difficulty of how such an apparently insignificant man came to Sir Richard's notice so quickly after exile had begun would be resolved if he were in any way related to the John Purefoy of Leicestershire, whom Magdalen, one of Sir John Cheke's sisters, married as her 2nd husband. (Strype, Life of Cheke 1821 ed. p. 3.)

OXFORDSHIRE

1. DRURY, Sir William. (Hedgerley, Bucks. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 146.)) and Weston. Gent.
 - A. 1549 Assisted Lord Russell in putting down the rebellion in the West over the Prayer Book. 1553 M.P. Suffolk County.
 - B. 1559 Agent on the Scottish border, and secretly in Edinburgh to sound the Scottish Protestants. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31.2.19 no. 129 Sadler to Council, Oct. 1559.)
1565-76 Marshal of Berwick.¹ (Reg. Ho. Letter Bk. of Regent Lennox 1570-71 f. 176.)
1567 Temporary Governor of Berwick and Warden of the E. Marches.
1571 Mediated in the truce negotiations in Scotland.
1572 Scottish Ambassador.
1574 Member of the High Commission, York Province. (P.R.O. S.P. 12 vol. CXIX no. 60.)
1576-7 President of Munster.
1578 Lord Justice of Ireland.
 - C. Having left the University, he attached himself to Francis Russell, and, since he was in Rouen

¹ From 1572-6 this appointment was only in Lord Hunsden's absence. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.1.11 f. 103, Instructions to H. Killigrew, Scots Ambassador 1572.)

in March 1554 and in Padua in August, it is likely that in some way he had assisted the conspirators. It is possible that his long standing friendship with Walsingham (see Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing ms. I 239) began in the latter city. He did not, apparently settle in Hedgerley, which became the home of Edmund Drury - at least from Dec. 1559 until 1587 - (Reg. Hedgerley Parish Church, by permission of the Rev. D. J. Jones R.N. Rector). Sir William settled in Weston, Oxfordshire. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 f. 123.)

It is interesting to note that Drury's regulations to be observed by the English army in Edinburgh in 1573 under his command "was printed at Edinburgh by the Scots printer Lekpreuik 1573", who was later imprisoned for printing works of John Davidson, minister of Liberton and the correspondent of John Field. (Reg. Ho. Eliz. vol. XXV no. 22.)

2. JOYNER, Robert. ? Gent, later ordained ?

A. B. -

C. Little is known about this exile - possibly the Robert Joyner ordained by Grindal upon his return, and possibly related to the Carews, and so perhaps a conspirator. (C.H.Garrett op.cit.201)

3. KINGE, Robert. Oxford. Bishop of Oxford ?

A. 1542 First Bishop of Oxford ?

B. -

C. It is possible that this exile was not the Bishop, for he is stated to have held his bishopric through 3 reigns. (D.N.B. XI 154, but see C. H. Garrett op.cit. 207, who suggests that he may have gone abroad in 1556/7.) He may, therefore, be the Robert Kinge of the parish of Peckham who "sayth that yt ys agaynste the worde of God to have the service in lattin" He also denied transubstantiation and averred that "yt ys not lawfull to put a man to death for hys conscience sake." (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 421 f. 95 undated, but probably 1556,

since it succeeds an entry of that date in a list of Canterbury heresies.)

4. KNOLLES, James. Eynsham. Carpenter.
 - A. B. -
 - C. Son of Thomas (below).
5. KNOLLES, Thomas. Eynsham. Ex-religious.
 - A. B. -
 - C. A former Benedictine of Eynsham, who arrived in Geneva with his wife and possibly 2 children. (C. H. Garrett, op.cit. 210.)
6. KNOLLYS, Sir Francis. Rotherfield Greys. Gent.
 - A. 1542-45 M.P. Horsham.
 - B. Jan. 1559 P.C.
 M.P. for Arundel.
 1562 M.P. for Oxfordshire.
 1563 Governor Portsmouth
 1566 Sent to Ireland, concerned with the suppression of O'Neal.
 1568 May 22nd Sent from Court with Lord Scroope to attend upon Queen Mary at Carlisle. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.1.11. f.112.)
 1569 In charge of the Duke of Norfolk in the Tower, and Lieut. of Oxfordshire in face of the rebels, (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. I nos.1409, 1410 b.) having, with one of the Wilfords, (see Kent Co. below) had charge of the Queen of Scots in 1568 at Bolton and at Carlisle. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31.2.19 no. 91.)
 1571-5, 1585 Treasurer of the Household, at a fee of £123.14.8 p.a. (F. S. Thomas, Historical Notes I 436 and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.1 f. 35.)
 1572 M.P. Oxfordshire.
 1559, 1562, 1572, 1576, 1584 High Commission. (R. G. Usher op.cit. 353.)
 1584, 1586, 1588, 1593 M.P. Oxfordshire.
 - C. In 1551 he had been present with those who

discussed the Sacrament in Morison's house. He was ever a staunch protestant (cf. P.R.O. S.P. 12 vol. CXIX no. 56, List of "Heretics" drawn up by a Catholic, 1574). Miss Garrett's theory of Sir Francis' visit to Calvin in 1553, his return to England, and consequent redepparture direct to Basle in the winter of 1556-7 (op. cit. 211 et seq.), breaks down in the light of Heylyn's statement that Sir Francis Knollys went to Geneva with Whittingham and Goodman and others from Frankfurt. (Aerius Redivivus 1670 ed. pp. 17, 18.) This was in 1555 and his presence was not recorded in Strasburg or Frankfurt in the Summer of 1556 (C. H. Garrett op.cit. ibid.) because he had left for Geneva the previous September. His itinerary should therefore read:

- (1) Frankfurt - between June 1555, when he was still in England and September when he left for Geneva - (Dasent V p. 145.)
- (2) Geneva - between September 1555 and Autumn 1556 -.
- (3) Basle - winter of 1556/7 where he remained as a student at the University.
- (4) Frankfurt - June 1557, from whence he returned to England.

7. KNOLLYS, Henry. Rotherfield Greys. Gent.

A. -

- B. 1562 Diplomat on mission to Germany.
 1563 M.P. for Reading Borough.
 1569 Temporary Warden to Mary Queen of Scots and to the Duke of Norfolk in the Tower.¹
 1572 M.P. Christchurch Borough.

C. Brother of Sir Francis.

¹ Henry "Knowles", Sir Peter Carew and Sir Thomas Wrothe (all former exiles), together with the recorder of London, on Sept. 16th 1572 were still engaged in work concerning the rebellion, including an enquiry into "to whom one Blackwall that served ye late Erle of Northumberland hath resorted in the Tower." (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 155 f. 315v "A memorial of certaine inquisitions and orders comytted to the chardge and execution of....") Possibly Blackwell, the Archpriest, later at Wisbeach.

8. KNOLLYS, Henry. Rotherfield Greys. Gent.
 - A. -
 - B. 1563-1571 M.P. Reading Borough (J. E. Neale The Elizabethan House of Commons p. 33.).
1572. M.P. Oxfordshire.
Esquire of the Body to the Queen.
 - C. Son of Sir Francis.
9. KNOT, Thomas. Rotherfield Greys. Servant.
 - A. B. -
 - C. Possibly the one "Knott", servant to Sir Francis Knollys 1580. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 vol CXL no. 6. Knollys to Walsingham July 7th 1580)
10. WARCOPE, Cuthbert. Nettlebed. Gent.
 - A. B. -
 - C. His mother befriended Jewell when he fled from Oxford 1554, and, later, Laurence Humphrey, when his non-conformity got him into trouble in 1565. Cuthbert himself had possibly aided Vincent and Chillester in their coining practices during the Dudley conspiracy. His son kept up a correspondence with Beza under Elizabeth, and in 1566 accompanied Percival Wiborne, a former exile, to Beza and other reformers. (H. J. Hessels, Ecclesiae Londino - Batavae Archivum II pp. 169 and 370. Wiborne to Beza, Beza to Cousin.) (See Chillester, London, below.)
11. WISDOM, Robert. Burford. Priest.
 - A. -
 - B. 1560 March and April. Preached at Court and at Pauls Cross.
 - C. Early in conflict with authority over religion, he was twice made to recant under Henry VIII.

He was then presented to the living of Settrington, Yorks, June 7th 1550, of which he was deprived, not in 1555 as has been tentatively suggested (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 340), but sometime after March and before Sept. 30th 1554, when his successor was installed in his place. (York Dioc. Reg. Archidiaconical Reg. V Sede Vacante 1299-1554 f. 694r and Dioc. of York Act Bk I f. 187.) The account of this deprivation contains one or two new and interesting facts. The patrons of this living were both Londoners - Francis Stanley and John Gerves -. This patronage they had obtained "per illustrem et potentem virum Henricum Ducem Suff. March. Dorsett". Instructions had been issued at this time that those married priests who had put away their wives should be leniently treated. (Ibid. f. 684 Instructions to the Ordinary.) Formal proceedings were begun against married priests in March 1554, and in that year Wisdom was deprived, it seems, because he refused to put away his wife, so that in the proceedings he is described as "clericus uxoratus". It is remarkable how frequently one finds threads between many of the exiles before ever they fled. The Suffolk patronage would be an additional reason for his verses upon the deaths of the two Dukes in 1551. His wife Margaret did not, it appears, accompany him into exile.

B E R K S H I R E

1. ASSHETON, Christopher. Fyfield. Gent.
 - A. B. -
 - C. A ringleader in the Dudley conspiracy, proclaimed a traitor April 1556. Fleeing to France, he fitted out ships to prey upon Spanish galleons in the Channel.
2. ASSHETON, Christopher. Fyfield. Gent.
 - A. B. -
 - C. Son of the elder Assheton, and concerned in

the piracies of his father and the Killigrews in the Channel. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 11, vol IX no. 26.)

3. BOLTON, John. Reading. Silk-weaver.

A. B. -

C. Imprisoned in 1554 for speaking against the Mass, and for "railing upon Queen Mary" while feigning madness. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 425 f. 18.) Under Elizabeth he became a member of the dissenting Plummers Hall congregation in 1567/8 and was then living in Smithfield. (Strype Mem. VI 430 and C. Burrage, Early English Dissenters I 80.)

4. DUWICK, John. ? Gent.

A. B. -

C. Possibly a brother of Thomas Huick (below).

5. HUICK (DUWICK), Thomas. ? Canon and D.C.L.

A. -

B. 1559 One of the Commissioners to "ride aboute the realme" to establish true religion. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 150 from Wriothsleys Chron. Camd. Soc. II 145.)
Vicar General to Bishop Grindal. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 12r.)

C. Since he arrived in Geneva in 1557 with his wife, it is likely that he preferred flight to conforming with the Catholic settlement of Mary.

6. HOBY, Sir Philip. Bisham Abbey. Gent.

A. 1535-6 Diplomat at the Courts of Spain and Portugal.
1541 Gentleman Usher of the King's Privy Chamber.
1545 Master of Ordinance in the North.
1548 Ambassador to Emperor Charles V.

1551 One of the Embassy to carry the Garter to Henry II and to suggest the marriage of Edward VI to the French King's daughter, Elizabeth.

1552 Master of the Ordinance and P.C.

1553 Ambassador in Flanders.

B. - Died May 1558.

C. Confidant of Henry VIII, friend of many reformers, including Ascham and Sir Anthony Denny (Nat. Lib. Scot. Hist. ms. Cat. 34.2.14 letters 24 and 7), he joined Wyatt's conspiracy and with Morison and Paget, urged Courtenay to marry Elizabeth. There are extant 30 letters written from Richard Scudamore, his factor in England, to Sir Philip in Padua and/or Brussels, which tell of many day to day occurrences during those years of exile.¹ Scudamore himself eventually fled. (Nat. Lib. Scot. Hist. ms. Cat. 34.2.14.) (See London Index.)

¹ The D.N.B. (IX 949) states that Hoby, in June 1554, "was again sent to Brussels on a diplomatic mission." This was not the case. In April, Renard informed the Emperor that "Morison and several other heretics" had asked for, and received, license to leave the Kingdom. He adds: "I have heard that Hoby is also going, under pretext of visiting the baths in Italy or Aix-la-Chapelle. It is believed that these men have prepared some new revolt, and are now getting out of the way until they see what happens....." (Cal. Sp. Papers XII 214.) There was, therefore, no question of an ambassadorial mission. (Ibid. p. 231 and 265.) Indeed, Mary told Renard later that the letters of introduction which he had obtained from her to the Emperor "were wrenched from her by his importunities". These he carried to Queen Mary, Dowager Regent of Hungary, who was in some doubt how to receive him, so that, arriving on June 13th, by the 19th his presence had already become an embarrassment to the Bishop of Arras, and he was left waiting for an audience until July 4th. On July 8th he left for Louvain. (Camd. Misc. X Hoby's diary 104, 105 and Cal Sp. Papers XII 279, 281.)

7. NEVILL, Sir Henry. Billingbear. Gent.

- A. 1550. Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI. (F. S. Thomas, Historical Notes I 358.)
1553 M.P. Berkshire.
- B. 1560 Lieutenant of Berkshire. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 XII 15.)
1563 M.P. Berkshire.
1564 J.P. Berkshire. (Letters of the Bishops to the Privy Co., Camd. Misc. IX 38.)
1572, '76 Member of the High Commission. (R. G. Usher op.cit. 355.)
1584 M.P. Berkshire.
- C. One of those who signed the letters patent limiting the Crown to Queen Jane. In 1580 he, together with Richard Kingsmill, - brother of Henry, the exile - acted as executor to the Protector Somerset's son's will. (Bottfield Stemmata Botevilliana passim.) Henry Neville the son, subsequently married Henry Killigrew's daughter Elizabeth.

M I D D L E S E X1. AMONDESHAM, Richard. Heston. Gent.

A. B. -

C. He died in Geneva 1558.

2. AMONDESHAM, William. Heston. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Son of Richard (above).

3. EUSTACE, John. Highgate. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Probably a conspirator, in the train of the Duke of Bedford in Venice 1555. (Venetian Cal. 1555-6 nos. 169, 171.)

4. HARTE, Roger. Stepney. Deacon.

A. B. -

C. Ordained deacon by Ridley in 1550, he died at Basle in January 1559. Miss Garrett says that his family and the Eustaces (above) had intermarried. (op.cit. 151.)

5. WROTHER, Oliver. Enfield. Gent.

A. B. -

C. A Dudley conspirator who fled to Paris.

6. WROTHER, Sir Thomas. Enfield. Gent.

A. 1544-5 M.P. Middlesex.

1545 Gentleman of the Chamber to Prince Edward.

1547-53 M.P. Middlesex ?

1549 Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI.

1551 Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex.

1553 M.P. Middlesex.

B. 1559 M.P. Middlesex.

Commissioner to visit the dioceses of Ely and Norwich.

1563-6 M.P. Middlesex.

1564 J.P. for Middlesex and Essex. (Letters of the Bishops to the P.C. Camd. Misc. IX pp. 60 and 62.)

1572 Member of the High Commission, assan alderman of London. (R. G. Usher op.cit. 360.)

C. A Ward of Thomas Cromwell. He signed the letters patent limiting the Crown to Queen Jane. One of the 2 Harringtons, exiles from London (q.v.) confessed to Bishop Gardiner how Lord John Grey, during Wyatt's rebellion, came to one of the Wrothes and himself for assistance. (J. A. Muller, Letters of Gardiner, Camb. 1933 p. 459. Gardiner to Petre Jan. 28th (cf. D.N.B. XXI 1079, which gives 27th.)) But the contents of Gardiner's letter by no means, as has been frequently suggested, incriminate Sir Thomas Wrothe, for Gardiner in his letter only writes of "Master Wrothe." Sir Thomas had been knighted on Feb. 22nd 1546/7, at Edward's coronation,

and it is therefore likely that Gardiner is referring to Oliver and not to Sir Thomas.¹

L O N D O N

1. ABELL, John. Merchant-Banker.

A. 1547 with Sir Thomas Hoby, messenger for the P.C. to bring Peter Martyr to England.

B. -

C. Friend of Richard Hilles, John Burcher - both merchants and exiles with markets in Strasburg - and of Springham and Thomas Heton. Hilles, Springham, Heton and Abell all were members of that committee of 26 persons who "sustained" the exiles financially - all were bankers -. A general aider of all less fortunate exiles, it seems, for he brought certain money from the Rawlins brothers in Strasburg to Edward Frencham at Zurich 1556. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 416, ff. 125-28. Orig. Letter Frencham to Thomas Randolph.)

In 1559 he acted as temporary guardian to Cranmer's son Thomas. In 1561 he brought certain letters out of Poland to Utenhove. (Dathaenus to Utenhove July 7th 1561. H. J. Hessels op.cit. II 169.) Upon his return to England he received a pension from Elizabeth (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. I 286), so that there is little doubt that his vast liberality abroad - he must have been known to everyone - had reduced his own fortunes.

2. ACWORTH, George. Student, later ordained.

A. -

B. 1563 M.P. Hindon.

¹ R. Lemon in his index (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80. Wrothe) to the Calendar which contains this letter has rightly omitted any Christian name to the Wrothe concerned. (but cf. D.N.B. XXI 1079, J. A. Muller op.cit.573.)

1564 J.P. for Hants. (Letters of the Bishops to the Privy Co. Camd. Misc. IX p. 55.)

1576 Judge of the Prerogative Court and Commissary of the Court of Faculties, Ireland. (E. H. R. XXV 685 ed. W. Hooper.)

- C. His first appointment, upon his return from exile, was to the rectory of Ashton Flavell cum Burbage, Leicestershire, on Sept. 23rd 1559, by patronage of Sir Henry Grey (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. U2 f. 97v, not in the D.N.B. I 69). It is therefore possible that this friendship with the Greys affords a clue to his flight. Early in the reign of Elizabeth, he became a trusted servant of Archbishop Parker, and on Nov. 1st 1562 was admitted advocate in the Court of Arches, and in May 1575 he and one other were commissioned to act as Dean of Arches at Shoreham and Croydon, two of the peculiars of the Archbishop, during the vacancy of the Southern See. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 240, and Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. V f. 87.) In 1562 he had been chancellor and vicar general to his fellow exile, Bishop Robert Horne of Winchester (see Thomas, Below). The D.N.B. (I 69) suggests that he died in 1578, but as late as April 1581 he was vicar-general to Lancaster, Archbishop of Armagh. (E.H.R. XXV 685 note 48 from Cal. S.P. Ireland 1574-85 p. 302.)

3. ACWORTH, Thomas.

Student, later ordained.

A. B. -

- C. One of those ordained deacon by Grindal Jan. 26th 1560.

It is possible that he was a younger brother of George (above), and also that he was a nephew of Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, who, in his will bequeathed: "To Richard Acworth my nephew my Humanity Books, Gr. and Lat." (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f. 162.)

4. ADE, John.

Merchant.

A. B. -

C. One of the wealthy exiles, who, like John Abell, financed his fellow exiles. In Frankfurt he lived in Robert Hornes' house. (See John Binks, Kent.)

5. ARGALL, Laurence.

Gent.

A. B. -

C. Probably a Dudley conspirator, since he arrived abroad in company with F. Withers (see below), one of those who had signed the letters limiting the Crown to Queen Jane.

6. ASHLEY, Thomas.

Gent.

A. Privy Councillor to Henry VIII
1551 Member of Northampton's embassy to France.

B. 1564 One of the twelve Grooms of the Privy Chamber at a fee of £20 p.a. (Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 5017 art. 4 and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.1 f. 35.)

C. He must have had protestant connections, for he married Mary, daughter of Sir Anthony Denny of Herts. In 1565, however, the eldest of his 2 children was 5 years old and he may not have married until his return from exile. (A. Kemp Loseley ms. no. 105.)

7. BAKER, John.

Gent.

A. B. -

C. In view of the common surname it is difficult to discover his identity. He may be:
(1) The cordwainer of that name summoned before the Council Jan. 1554, being in debt to the Queen. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 77 and ref.) But this is unlikely, because he is not found abroad until June 1557.
(2) The executor of Henry "Kebyll"'s will, the latter a citizen and grocer of London who died in 1517. The other executors included John

Colet and Sir Henry Wyatt. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 978 f. 155.) There was a family of Bakers in London at this time, and a John Baker was detected, for reading the Scriptures, as a Lollard (Foxe A and M IV 234-40), whilst in 1511 a Joan Baker, wife of Gervase, of the parish of St. Margaret's, Bridge Street, citizen of London, was indicted for heresy. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 978 f. 104.)

(3) Most likely he was the John Baker of the parish of St. Andrew, Canterbury, detected in the Autumn of 1556, in Cardinal Pole's Visitation, for not coming to church (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Pole's Visitation Reg. 1556 f. 11v). This date would support his arrival in Geneva the following June. (See (1) above.)

8. BANKS, John. Printer, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. Friend of James Haddon, late tutor to Lady Jane Grey. They fled together to Strasburg. Apparently Cecil's note of him as one of those "spiritual men without promotion" in 1559, must have obtained him a living. On Feb. 3rd., 1566/7 a John Banke alias Bankes was presented to the vicarage of Hollingbourne near Maidstone, Kent. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 379v and cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. 79.)

9. BATES, Thomas. Merchant.

A. 1554 M.P. Morpeth Borough ?

B. Jan. 1558 M.P. Morpeth Borough ?
1568-74 Warden of London Bridge, together with John Randolph - brother of 2. exiles -. (G. Home, Old London Bridge 335.)

C. -

10. BAXTER, Thomas. Book-binder.

A. B. -

C. A friend of Thomas Salkins, Richard Hilles' servant in Strasburg, who had known Baxter in London, before exile. Salkins said that Baxter had left London solely upon religious grounds. (From Archives of Strasburg in C. H. Garrett op.cit. 371.)

11. BEDELL, John. Printer ? (J. A. Kingdon, Richard Grafton p. 13 London 1903, privately printed.)

A. B. -

C. Although uncertain, the identity of this exile may lie with the John Bedill, citizen and stationer of London, executor in 1535 to the will of Wynken de Worde, and lately his servant. (H. R. Plomer, Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers, 1492-1630 London 1903 p. 3.) Bedell took over his master's shop, and there in 1539, printed a translation of the Bible. In 1545 Edward Whitchurch, himself later an exile, took over the shop.

12. BLACK, John. Grocer ? (P.R.O. L and P Henry VIII IV pt. II nos. 2540 and 2555.)

A. B. -

C. It seems likely that the "Johannes Blochus, Anglus," whom Miss Garrett (op.cit. 92) has found to have matriculated at Basle in May 1558, is in some degree related to the John Blage (Blagge or Blacke), grocer of Chepe Street, to whom Richard Grafton, the printer of the Bible, was apprenticed. Black was accustomed to travel abroad, where he would meet the continental reformers (cf. Protection granted to John Blagge, grocer going in the suite of John Bouchier, Lord Berners. L and P Henry VIII IV pt. II nos. 2540, 2555.) He was certainly a reformer, for in 1541, at the time of the troubles concerned with the Six

Articles, he was presented among a crowd of others - which included Grafton's confrere, Whitchurch, later a Marian exile - for not coming to his parish church, not confessing, and not receiving the Sacrament. (J. A. Kingdon, Incidents in the Lives of Thomas Poyntz and Richard Grafton 1895 p. 19 Privately printed.) In the same year John Blage was examined, upon Thomas Cottesford's evidence - he also was a Marian exile (see Hants below) - that he had received an epistle of Melancthon from Blage's wife. Blage (or Black) confessed that he had had it from Grafton. (Nicolas Procs. of the P.C. in England VII pp. 104 and 106.)

13. CALTHAM, John. Merchant, goldsmith.

A. B. -

C. A Dudley conspirator who, fleeing to France, was employed to counterfeit English coin out of bars of Spanish silver to be stolen from the exchequer. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 103 and refs. and Cal. S.P. Dom 1547-80 Mary vol. VII March 10th.) (see Chillester, below.)

14. CHILLESTER, James. Gent.

A. B. -

C. It was this man who, during the Dudley conspiracy, stole the coining wedges from the Tower of London, and who, assisted by Cuthbert Warcope (q.v. Oxfordshire), hastily buried them when the plot was discovered. (Machyn's Diary p. 103 Camd. Soc. XLII and Cal. S.P. For. 1553-58 no. 569 Wotton to Petre, Jan. 1556/7.) (See T. Stanley below).

15. DALE, John. Gent and haberdasher.

A. B. -

C. A Dudley conspirator, who fled to France. (Baga de Secretis p. 254.)

16. DAVIDSON, John. Student.

A. B. -

C. This man is a cousin of John Davidson, minister of Liberton, Edinburgh, who wrote to Field and others of the Classical Movement in England, asking Field to remember him to "my cousins Davidsons in Great Woodstreet and his wyfe....." (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 6.1.13 f. 42 Orig. letter Davidson to Field, Edinburgh Jan. 1582/3.) This exile, therefore, was one of those few radical enough to join the puritan movement upon his return.

17. DAY, John.

Printer.

A. B. -

C. 1552 licensed to print the works of John Ponet, Bishop of Winchester. 1554 he and Hugh Singleton, another printer (see below) brought over from Wesel to Yarmouth the "Confession of the Banished Ministers" and "The Doctrine of the Mass Book," both printed by Day, for which both were imprisoned, subsequently escaping abroad once more. On his epitaph, it is recorded that it was he who set Foxe to write the Lives of the Martyrs:

"He set a Fox to wright
how martyrs runne,
By death to lyfe."

(T. F. Dibden Typographical Antiquities IV p. 45,
from orig. stone tablet, Bradley Parva, Suffolk.)

18. DUNCE, Henry.

Bricklayer and preacher.

A. B. -

C. Forced to recant under Henry VIII for preaching "the gospelle in his gardene every holy daye". (Camd. Soc. LXXVII 171 Narrative of Ref.)

19. ESCOT, John.

Merchant.

A. -

B. 1559 One of the Commissioners for the Visitation of the North. (Strype, Annals I 245 1824 ed.)

C. Father-in-law to Thomas Eaton (Heton see below)

one of the original "sustainers" of those abroad. It is now possible to state that he was still alive in 1581, (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. 151 whose last reference is for 1557) and from Bishop Berkeley's reference to him, it is likely that he too financed the exiles during his stay abroad. For the Bishop - presumably out of gratitude - left to both Heton the younger and Escot "so much goulde as will make a ringe of remembrance." (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 f. 10 Will of Berkeley, died 1581.)

20. FITZWILLIAM, Brian.

Gent.

A. -

B. 1560 served as a soldier in Scotland, and wounded in the leg at Leith.
1574 Captain in the Irish Wars. (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. I no. 676.)

C. Brother of Sir William who aided the exiles financially, and who, in the Spring of 1556, was summoned before the Star Chamber to answer for the "escape of a prisoner for heresies". (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 2143 f. 4.) Implicated in Wyatt's rebellion. (Baga de Secretis 241.) Sir Anthony Cooke's nephew. (C. H. Garrett op. cit. 154.)

21. FULLER, William.

Gent.

A. -

B. Possibly one of the 7 auditors of the Exchequer. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. Cat. 35 arts. 5-13.)

C. A relative of the Dudleys, he was naturally a conspirator. A Thomas Fuller was also indicted for conspiracy under Wyatt, but he died in Feb. 1559, being buried "sine crucis signo super sarcophagum". (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 f. 142 and Arch. Cant. XXVIII p. 291.) The family was, therefore, decidedly committed to the new religion and its leaders.

22. GAWTON, Richard. Tailor, later ordained.
(Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow ms. 45.2.2 Part of a
Register ms. no. 9 f. 73.)

A. B. -

C. Servant to William Fuller (above). Later he
became a minister at Norwich, but was deprived
in Aug. 1576 for objecting to the surplice and
for omitting to have his license renewed (Ibid)
(see N. Harvey, Somerset.)
23. GOSLING, William. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. One who sheltered the Duchess of Suffolk at
his house in Kent, when she fled abroad. (Foxe
A and M VIII 572.) By Nov. 29th 1574, the
date upon which his wife made her will, he was
dead, for she is described as his widow.
Besides his house and woodland at Barming, in
mid Kent, he was survived by a daughter, Mar-
garet, and 2 sons, Thomas and Robert, and two
of Robert's grandchildren. (Kent Co. Lib. ms.
C 32 f. 105.)
24. HALL, Rowland. Printer.

A. B. -

C. The printer of the "Breeches Bible" at Geneva,
and like Day, Grafton, Whitchurch, Bedell and
others printers, no doubt on friendly terms with
many of the older reformers under Henry VIII.
25. HARRINGTON, Percival. Student and preacher.

A. B. -

C. Some relation of Robert (below).
26. HARRINGTON, Robert. Gent.

A. B. -

C. One of the original "sustainers" of the exiles,
and one of those present at the discussion of
the Sacrament at Sir Richard Morison's house.

(Strype, Life of Cheke pp. 69-77, 77-86 1821 ed.) This man cannot, manifestly, be the third son of Sir John Harrington of Rutland, and a cousin of Cecil, since that cousin was in England at the time the exile was in Frankfurt. (See C. H. Garrett op.cit. 177 and Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. III f. 61, Harrington to Cecil, Jan. 17th 1556. In Nov. 1555 the exile reached Frankfurt.)

The Harringtons I believe to be the sons of that John Harrington who bought the House of the Poor Clares outside Aldgate - i.e. the Minories - in 1554 from Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk. The purchase was made by Harrington, together with the Duke's brothers, Lord Thomas and Lord John Grey, and their half-brother George Medley, Esq. (E. M. Tomlinson, A History of the Minories, London 1907.)

Three days after Wyatt's rebellion began, Bishop Gardiner wrote to Petre "..... I thought good to serch the Mynoresse and Medles lodging there for letters, and, among other, found a letter lately written by Harrington, which Harrington came to me this night he hath confessed howe upon Fridaye at night the Lord John Grey cam to Cheston where Master Wrothe and he was" (see Wrothe Middx.). (J. A. Muller, Letters of Stephen Gardiner 459. Gardiner to Petre Jan. 28th 1554.) The Harringtons were therefore conspirators. Upon Robert's return, he was ordained deacon by Grindal in Jan. 1559/60, and in 1594 is listed as one of the prebendaries of St. Paul's, London. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Whitgift Reg. II f. 257.)

27. HASTINGS, John.

Gent and diplomat.

A. -

- B. 1559 M.P. for Leicester.
 1563 M.P. for Bridport. (J. E. Neale, Eliz. Ho. of Commons p. 197 note 1.)
 1564 With Thomas Dannett and Henry Knollys sent to negotiate the return of Calais. (For. Cal. 1563 p. 395.)
 1571 M.P. for Reading.

1572 M.P. for Poole.

1575 - March 1576 Diplomat at the Court of the Prince of Orange. (For. Cal. 1575-77 nos. 425, 681, Instructions to Hastings from the Queen.)

- C. A conspirator who fled sometime after April 1st 1556. On Jan. 11th 1557/8, however, - where he is described as "late of London, alias late of mowenden, co Suffolk, esquire," and again as "otherwise described as of Grymescharpe Co. Lincoln esquire, and as John Hastingses gentleman" - he was granted a pardon of all his treasons, and his lands and goods were returned to him. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ph. and M. IV 299.) Some time before 1570 he married Edward Randolph's widow, but appears to have disliked his step-sons so much that he kept the elder on a pittance in Italy. Moreover, Thomas Randolph, their uncle, wrote in disgust to Burghley that he was "sent over with a detestable Papist, and what he (i.e. Hastings) is himself in religion - God knoweth." (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. II pp. 126 and 206, Thomas Randolph to Burghley.) In 1575 or 1576, he was granted a patent to make frizado (a kind of fine frieze cloth), presumably as a reward for his diplomatic activities. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 p. 511.)

28. HETON, Thomas.

Merchant.

A. B. -

- C. One of those who "sustained" the exiles, keeping open house at Strasburg whither he fled. In some degree a cousin of Thomas Lever. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 182.) See Escot (above).

29. HICKMAN, Anthony.

Merchant.

A. B. -

- C. Friend of Knox, to whom the latter, in a letter to Mrs. Locke in London, of Nov. 19th 1556, sent his regards. (Laing, Works of Knox IV 239.) The Hickmans were therefore still in London at this date. There is extant an original letter written by

John Foxe from London dated merely Oct. 5th, endorsed to "Mr. Hyckma(n) att Bugden", and in a later hand there is added: "Foxe to Hickman at Bugden, newly returned from his exile." The letter itself says: "Of your long loked for retorne I am glad. Of your preserved health I am more glad. As also if yt so please yr lord we may mete here at London I wyl not be sory." It ends: "I pray yow recomend me to your good hoast and to your good hoastes, and to your good wife." (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 416 f. 134.) The Bishop of Lincoln's palace lay at Buckden, and was at that time occupied by Bullingham, returned from Emden. This letter must be dated before Oct. 1561, for Knox at that time wrote to Mrs. Locke: "Salute Mr. Hickman, with all other faithfull acquaintance." (Laing, op.cit. VI I 130.) So that the Hickmans had by then returned to London. It was probably written in October 1559, for in November of that year there is an account of the brass ordinance and powder received into the Tower for the Queen's use by Anthony Hickman and one Edward Castelyn. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 VII 41.)

In Feb. 1565/6 Hickman was in Scotland and was granted, with 8 others, letters of safe conduct: "Forsamekle as we have contractit with francisco Berry florentine and his pertenars anent ye making of greit salt (i.e. rock salt) wtn oure realme of ane new sort and fassioun and understanding that Anthony Heckma inglishman cietenar of London hes interest in that cace with ye said francisco.....". It is possible that the intended operation covered more than the mining of rock salt, and that, like the more famous bravade, Bevis Bulmer, who came North from England to assist James VI in his search for gold, and another Englishman, George Bowes the Surveyor, Hickman was also concerned in prospecting for precious minerals. (Scottish Field July 1951, H. Hutchinson p.26.) The letter of conduct included permission for their entry and exit "wt thair horses aswele stenit as geldingis bulgettis (i.e. pouches)

fardellis cofferris pacquettis money plate gold silver cunzeit (i.e. minted) and oncunzeit." (Reg. Ho. Letters and State Papers 1543-1579 f. 41 Feb. 28th 1565/6.) This is the last record of Anthony Hickman. Hitherto this man has not been regarded as a Marian Exile. (See Locke below.)

30. HILLES, John.

Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Probably the eldest son of Richard Hilles, merchant tailor, friend of Bullinger and one of those who signed the letters patent limiting the Crown to Queen Jane. (Camd. Soc. XLVIII p. 100 Chron. Queen Jane.) John was possibly involved in conspiracy, for he arrived in Frankfurt in late 1556 or early 1557, along with other conspirators. He returned in 1558 to be granted the freedom of his company. (C. M. Clode, History of the Merchant Tailors Co. II 65.) He died between Oct. 1572 and 1579 when Barnabas the third son is spoken of as being heir to Gerson, Richard Hilles' second son, found lunatic upon Inquisition. (London Inquisitions Post Mortem III 338 and Chancery Inq. p.m. 22 Eliz p. 2 no. 19.)

31. HODGSTON, Robert.

Physician.

A. 1554-5 M.P. Winchester City.

B. C. -

32. HORNEBY, Nicholas.

Student.

A. B. -

C. Possibly a brother of Robert (below).

33. HORNEBY, Robert.

Gent.

A. Groom of the Chamber to Princess Elizabeth. (Foxe A and M VIII 580.)

B. -

C. Imprisoned in the Marshalsea for refusing to hear Mass in 1555. (Ibid.)

34. HOUGHTON, John. Servant.

A. B. -

C. Described as servant to Francis Withers, at Geneva, but he may have been an apprentice. For a Peter Houghton was Alderman of London 1593, whilst a Robert Houghton served Robert Cecil faithfully for 42 years. (Stowe, Survey of London 1633 ed. pp. 214 and 892.)

35. JUGGE, Richard. Printer.

A. -

B. March 1560 One of the Queen's printers at a salary of £6.13.4d.

C. In 1550 licensed to print the New Testament. (D.N.B. X IIII.)

36. LANGE, Peter. Servant.

A. B. -

C. Servant to Sir William Fuller at Geneva.

LOCKE, John. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Mrs. Locke was a friend of Knox and in the Spring of 1559 he wrote to her saying that he had received her letter "dated at Geneva the 7 of februarye." (Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow ms. 45.2.2. no. 45 f. 44 ms. copy Calderwood's History?) It is unlikely that Mrs. Locke would go abroad without her husband, except in the company of some other friends. Therefore either: i) Locke accompanied his wife. or ii) Mrs. Locke went abroad with friends, who undoubtedly would be the Hickmans, in which case it is certain that the latter were in Geneva in the Spring of 1558. (See

Hickman above.)

Because of the uncertainty of his presence abroad, Locke has not been numbered in this index.

37. LUDDINGTON, Richard. Merchant.
 A. B. -
 C. Identification uncertain, but possibly a son of Nicholas, citizen of London. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 222 and ref.)
 In 1578-9 he was governor of the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp. (Cal. S.P. For. 1578-9).
38. OFFLEY, Hugh. Merchant.
 A. -
 B. 1588 Sheriff of London. (Beaven, Aldermen of London II 43, 174.)
 C. His eldest brother, sheriff in 1553-4, "saved many who should have died" after Wyatt's rebellion. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 240, quoted from Geneal. n.s. XIX 87.)
39. PEKINS, John. Canon of Westminster.
 A. B. -
 C. Rector of Exeter College Oxford 1531-34 (Foster III 1138), which suggests that he was one of Cromwell's men there.
40. PERKYNS, Charite. Ex-religious (Benedictine) and D.D.
 A. B. -
 C. Besides being restored to his prebend at Westminster in 1560, by 1568 he had become chief prebend there (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31. 2.19 art. no. 84 p. 2). Cecil apparently found him useful in later years, and employed him upon Venetian affairs - possibly in that country where he had passed his exile -. In

March 1595 he wrote to Cecil telling of his negotiations with Ottavio Negro "in the cause of Venice." He speaks guardedly of a disputation "concerning the Questions of a straynge Prince and greater monarch," of which he considers he may give a copy "with good discession to whome you knowe." He concludes that Sir John Woolley's death - latin secretary to Elizabeth - "hath offered some occasion to place and make mee whereby I may be more at hand for her Majestie's service." (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Nero B VII f. 181.)

41. PROCTOR, Richard.

Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Son-in-law of Richard Springham, one of the original "sustainers" of the exiles.

It is also possible that he was a brother of James, whose wife was sister of Daniel Rogers - an exile and son of the martyr - (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1581-90 vol. CL no. 64, James Procter to Walsingham, suit on behalf on (D). Rogers, a prisoner. Nov. 1581). This James "Procter" was one of those imprisoned at the same time as Thomas Mountain, for suspected complicity in Northumberland's rebellion. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 425 ff. 108,109.) (See T. Water, below.)

If also he was related to the John Proctor, executed at Tyburn for his part in Stafford's insurrection (Diary of Henry Machyn, Camd. Soc. XLII p. 136) he had additional cause to flee abroad.

42. PURFOOT, Nicholas.

Printer.

A. B. -

C. Possibly one of those apprentices involved in the riot at Pauls Cross, Aug. 13th 1553. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 265 quoting Strype Mem. III 1,32.)

43. RAILTON, Gregory.

Merchant.

- A. Clerk to the Signet to Edward VI.
1549 Treasurer on the Borders. (F. S. Thomas,
Historical Notes I 360.)
- B. 1559 Employed by Cecil in the secret negotiations
with the Earl of Arran. Later he had some
undefined office on the Border.
- C. Like his successor, Richard Bunny (q.v. Bucks),
he had indulged in pecculation as Treasurer.
(Cal. S.P. Dom. Add. 1547-65 vol. III no. 55
Oct. 1549, Instructions to R. Cotton sent into
the North.)
A friend of Edward Frensham and Thomas Randolph.
(Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 416 f. 128, Orig. letter,
Frensham to Randolph 1556.)

44. RAWLINS, Erkenwald. Merchant.

A. B. -

- C. It is very likely that the John Rawlins, in
July 1557 apprehended for "bringing in certain
lewde, seditious bokes from Andwerpe" (Dasent
VI p. 124) was Erkenwald's son, for Gilbert
Berkeley, Bishop of Bath and Wells, when he
died, bequeathed the £480 owed to him by John
to his debtor as a gift. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms.
982 f. 10.) The two Rawlins went to Frankfurt
at about the same time as Berkeley. Insolvency
appears a family failing for Edward Frensham
complained in 1556 that Erkenwald owed him money
in connection with business done at the Frankfurt
Mart. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 416 f. 125 Frensham
to Randolph.)

45. RAWLINS, William. Merchant.

A. B. -

- C. Brother of Erkenwald.

46. SALKINS, William. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Richard Hilles's agent in Antwerp and Strasburg. Richard Hilles, father of the exile, John, had early been a reformer (C. H. Clode, Early History of the Merchant Taylors' Company, London 1888 II passim and Parker Soc. Orig. Letters, 1537-58 pp. 199, 251). His connections with the continental reformers would doubtless revert to his agent upon his own return home.

47. SANDES, Thomas. Priest (Foxe A and M VII 579).

A. B. -

C. Cousin of Laurence, the Martyr. (Harl. Soc. Visitations XLIII 18, XXII 90.) Having secretly baptised a child in London according to the Edwardian Prayer Book, he fled at Easter 1557, after his crime had been discovered. (Foxe A and M VIII 579.)

48. SCUDAMORE, Richard. Gent.

A. B. -

C. He appears to have acted as Sir Philip Hoby's factor between the years 1550-54, whilst he was abroad. He writes to him of many day to day happenings - the reported death of one of the Dennys, of happenings in Parliament, and of King Christian III's intervention on Coverdale's behalf -. Mostly these letters are headed from Blackfriars. On March 2nd 1554/5 he wrote to Hoby: "And as for my accompte I meane to bryng a remembraunce of it with me entending god willyng to begynne my journey towardses yow on Wenysday next yn the companye of Jerome Palmer and Thomas Litle gentlemen of my lord Pagetts." (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.2.14 passim and esp. f. 30.) Thereafter nothing is heard of him. (Hitherto overlooked.)

49. SINGLETON, Hugh. Printer.

A. B. -

C. With John Day, brought over the "Confession", and the "Doctrine" from Wesel, for which they were imprisoned in the winter of 1554-5. (Church Quarterly Review CXXXVII 155-6.) See Day (above).

50. SOUTHUSE, Christopher. Student.

A. B. C. -

51. SPRINGHAM, Richard. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. One of those who supported the exiles abroad with money, in association with certain other merchants, whom Strype together calls "sustainers". (See also Thos. Fuller, quoted in Reprint Proc. Hug. Soc. XV no. I p. 4.)

52. STANLEY, Thomas. Gent.

A. 1549 M.P. Liverpool ?
1554 M.P. Lancaster Co. ?
Comptroller of the Mint in the Tower. (Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 4751 f. 333.)

B. Under Treasurer of the Mint in the Tower under Elizabeth. (Ibid. f. 336.)

C. Probably he who aided Chillester in his abstraction of the coining wedges from the Tower (see Chillester above).
An inveterate schemer, it seems, for later he was suspected of plotting Mary Queen of Scots' escape to Scotland, when he took the opportunity of reminding the Council of his loyalty to Elizabeth in Mary Tudor's time! (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. I no. 1576).
Possibly a relative of Francis Stanley (see Wisdom, Oxfordshire, above.).

53. THOMSON, Edmund. Priest.

A. B. -

C. Ordained by Ridley. (He is not the translator

of the N.T. from the French (C. H. Garrett op. cit. 304,305). The author of this was Laurence Thomson, Walsingham's private secretary, who dedicated it to his master.)

54. TURNER, John. Priest.

A. B. -

C. 1554 Deprived for marriage. (Strype, Life of Cranmer, 468-70.)

55. TURNER, Robert. Priest.

A. B. -

C. Identity very uncertain, he may be he who was cited for marriage in Jan. 1555. (York Dioc. Reg. Consistory Court Bk. VII A 34 f. 104.)

TURNOUR, Edward. Gent and "Captain".

A. B. -

C. Strictly speaking, not an exile, for he was captured before he could reach the coast after Dudley's conspiracy failed, and he is not therefore numbered.

A young man at the time it seems, for there is extant a letter from Calais, dated April 1st 1606, from "N.M." (Mr. Dupre) to the Earl of Salisbury: "Captain Turner (as he calleth himself)", left for London the previous Sunday, and the Earl is warned against him: "I know your wisdom understandeth rightlye in what sort to use him, but I do assure you that he hath been held here by all that know to be a most vane and ridiculous fellowe and (he) hath abused many great personages he had at his going from hence furnished himself with many untruths to abuse you with all"
(Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 6178 f. 162.)

56. WATER, Thomas. Priest.

A. B. -

C. Ordained by Ridley. One of those imprisoned with Thomas Mountain (see R. Proctor above). Edmund Laurence, also an exile, was among their number in the Marshalsea. They had been found with a copy of a derogatory pamphlet written against Philip and Mary. Mountain asserted that "one Warter curate of St. Bryedys (i.e. St. Brides) yn Fletstrete fyrst browghte it in amongste us and so came I by the coppye of yt." (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 425 f. 109.) He must therefore have been released, and fled in 1556. (cf. C. H. Frere, *Marian Reactions* pp. 186, 194 and note, who has overlooked this episode.)

57. WELLER, John.

Merchant.

A. B. C. -

58. WHITCHURCH, Edward.

Grocer and Printer.

A. Printer of Edward VI's first Prayer Book, with Grafton, and of other Protestant works.

B. -

C. He died in 1561. In 1559 Whitchurch entered into a bond for £30 with Archbishop Parker, for some unspecified contract. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Chartae Miscellaneae IV 18.) If this concerned printing, it might account for his omission from the confirmation of the Charter of the Stationers Co. in 1559 by Elizabeth. (D.N.B. XXI 31.) He was elderly and may have preferred to work only in a small way of business. (See H. Alcockson, *Unknown*.)

59. WILFORD, John.

Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Like many merchants, he seems to have acquired reforming views from the continent in the course of his trade. Doubtless much hostility was aroused between the rival faiths in the course of business. In 1545 Wilford and other

"mercatores Londinenses", had seized the goods of a Castillian merchant because he owed them money. Complaints like this were constant between H.M. Commissioners and the Commissioners of the Emperor at this time. John Wilford, William Hammond, John Bodley and William Beavour (q.v. in this index passim) were all concerned in it. (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Galba B X ff. 90, 99, 202, 207, 208.)

60. WITHERS, Francis. Merchant.
 A. B. -
 C. With his fellow Merchant-Tailors Richard Hilles, and John Wilford, his father, signed the letters patent limiting the crown to Queen Jane. (See L. Argall, above.)
61. WITHERS, Henry. Gent, later ordained.
 A. B. -
 C. A young brother of Francis (above).
62. WITHERS, Stephen. Gent.
 A. -
 B. 1563-66 Possibly M.P. in this parliament. (D'Ewes Journal 1684 ed. 127.)
 C. A still younger brother of Francis (above).
63. WITHERS, William. Merchant ?
 A. B. -
 C. Possibly cousin of the above. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 341.)
64. WOOD, Thomas. Merchant.
 A. B. -
 C. Nov. 12th 1553 summoned before the Council for

asserting that Edward VI still lived. (Dasent IV p. 363 and Cal. Sp. Papers XII p. 41.)

K E N T

1. ADAMS, John. Mylton (P.R.O. ms. K.B. 8/32 f. 2.)
Soldier, King's Messenger and Courier.
 - A. King's Messenger. (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Cleop. E V f. 301.)
 - B. -
 - C. Feb. 13th 1554 indicted as a conspirator under Wyatt. Killed in the Scarborough expedition under Stafford in 1557.
2. ALLEN, Thomas. Dover (Kent Co. Record Office ms. C Act 7 f. 129v).
Merchant, of the Skinners Co. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 229.)
 - A. B. -
 - C. Friend of Thomas Turpin, an exile from Calais, and of H. Alcockson (q.v. Unknown).
3. ASHTON, Roger. (and of Calais). Chantry priest ?
 - A. B. -
 - C. An old man. Possibly he fled from the round-up of those suspected for religion in Calais in March 1555. (E.H.R. 1935 p. 500 et seq.)
4. BERTIE, Richard. Bersted. Gent.
 - A. -
 - B. 1563 M.P. with Cecil for Lincoln County.
 - C. Husband of the Duchess of Suffolk, and also related to the Courtenays, one of whom had been candidate for the rising in the West 1554.

(E. Cleaveland, History of the Courtenays, 1735 ed. p. iv.)

5. BESLEY, Richard. Staplehurst. Priest (and ex-religious?)

A. Chaplain to Henry VIII. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 vol. XLII no. 11, Besley to Cecil, Feb. 1566/7.)

B. -

C. A protégé of Cromwell, to whom he wrote (letter undated), asking to be dismissed from his position as monk at Pershore (Worcs.), because the monks have "lett the preceps an commandymnts of God go." (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Cleop. E IV f. 198, and see also L and P Henry VIII no. 68, Besley to Cromwell.)

In 1548, Besley being rector at Sandhurst, Kent, his curate deposed that, since the King's Injunctions of 1547, images had been removed there. (Arch. Cant. XXXI 93 et seq.)

On March 24th 1548 Besley married Jane Lenarde, a poor orphan - i.e. as soon as Convocation had asserted the right of clergy to marry, but before the Bill legalising such marriages had been passed in Parliament -. The new service, issued that month, was ordered by the Bishop to be used for the first time on Easter day, but Besley had been married "in the Englishe tonge" the previous week, so that he anticipated that order too.

Commanded to separate from his wife, he fled in 1557. (Arch. Cant. XXVIII 286 from Staplehurst Reg. and Strype, Cranmer (1840 ed.) p. 472.)

Upon his return, besides his other appointments, (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. 85) he became a Canon at Canterbury, and was in that office in 1576 which is the last living record that can be found of him. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Grindal's Reg. f. 79.) He died in 1585.

6. BINKS, John. Sittingbourne (Kent Co. Record Office ms. A 39 f. 135v, Archdeacon's Reg.) Merchant.

A.-

- B. 1560 Messenger for Cecil and the Queen during the peace negotiations with Scotland. (Cal. S.P. For. 1560-61 nos. 228, 239.)
- C. A brother-in-law of John Ade of London (q.v.). Since they both resided in Robert Horne's house, it would appear that the acquaintanceship had begun there. Ade had no wife with him abroad, and probably married upon his return. Binks, in Frankfurt in August 1559, where he and Ade served as witnesses together in the quarrels of the French Church, was acting as a messenger for either Cecil or the Queen in June 1560 during the Scottish negotiations. He was dead, however, by June 12th 1565, when his will was proved in the Archdeacon's Court at Canterbury. He left some interesting effects behind him: a Bible, "Calvyn uppon Powles pystles and upon the psalmes" (all in French), a commentary upon Genesis and upon Isaiah by Calvin, the Enchiridion of Erasmus in English, a small testament in English, a book by Peter Martyr upon Judges. He also left a silver gilt spoon "to my syster Ade", and appointed John Ade of London and Roger Ade of Sittingbourne residuary legatees and also his executors. (Kent Co. Record Office ms. A 39 f. 135v.)

7. BOYES, Edward. Nonington. Gent.

A. -

- B. 1577 Sheriff of Kent.
1580 One of a Commission for the repair of Dover Harbour. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 vol. CXLI no. 26.)

1585 Treasurer of the Works at Dover. (Ibid. 1581-90 vol. CLXXVIII no. 14.)

- C. Related by marriage to the Wentworths. (Harl. Soc. Visitations LXXV p. 123.) (See John Daniel, Essex.) A loyal protestant, who joined the Association to preserve the Queen's life in 1584. (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. III nos. 115, 125.)

8. BROKE, John. Denton (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.8.4).
Gent.

A. B. -

C. Miss Garrett's tentative suggestion of his parentage - as being third son of Lord Cobham - (op.cit.97) has been further strengthened. There is extant a letter to Sir Philip Hoby from his factor Scudamore, in which Broke's name is mentioned, and who, says Scudamore, has written to Hoby "of theyr procedyngs yn the parlyament howse." (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.2.14 f. 9.) Therefore, it seems that Broke was cousin of Sir Thomas Wyatt, was related to the Courtenays, and was he who was in Padua with Hoby in 1554. Some time during Mary's reign he was presented by a jury for religion, for withholding a certain garden plot from the church of St. Mary, deanery of Dover, (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.8.4 f. 49v) but the entry is undated and it is impossible to discover when he fled. Lord Cobham and three of his sons had taken part in Wyatt's rebellion.

9. CARIAR, Anthony.
ordained.

Student, later

A. B. -

C. A very radical reformer, presented upon his return ~~for~~ not wearing the surplice, administering the Communion in loaf bread, and refusing to bury the dead. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.1.6 Archdeacon's Court Comperta, May 23rd 1565 (folios unnumbered) and ms. x.1.9 April 29th 1569.)

In 1561 he had been presented to the vicarage of Boughton Monchelsea, Kent, yet, in spite of his intransigency, on May 28th 1567 or 1568 he was presented to the vicarage of Lillington, and in 1576 to that of Little Chart, all in Kent. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I ff. 235r, 267, and Grindal Reg. f. 152v.)

10. CHRISPE, Richard. Monkton in Thanet. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. z.3.10 pt. I f. 3v.) Gent.

A. -

- B. 1559 Lieutenant of Dover Castle. (Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 5752 f. 369.)
1588 Captain of the Light Horse in Kent. (Arch. Cant. XII 415-416 and XI 389.)
- C. A Dudley conspirator, who, upon his return, employed the rogue Vincent as a friend. (q.v. Lincs. Co.) In June 1560 he wrote that he had "constituted my well beloved in Christ Richard Vincent, gent, my true and lawfull attorney to make, yeld up and delyver for me and in my place and name myne accompt" (i.e. of the Queen's money for the repair of Dover Castle). (Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 5752 f. 369.) In 1569 he and his family were presented for not coming to church, having obtained license to that effect. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. z.3.10 pt. I f. 3v.)
11. CHRISTOPHER, George. Bersted ? Barber.
- A. B. -
- C. Barber to Richard Bertie.
12. DAWES, John. Tonbridge. Artisan.
- A. B. -
- C. Some time in Mary's reign he was in disgrace for religious nonconformity, for there is a record that, before some Court - probably the Archdeacon's -, "John Dawes comp't et submisit se etc." (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.8.4 f. 11r, "Presentements of divers juries for matters of religion temp. Ph. et M.")
13. DIXSON, Gawin. Northfrith, Tonbridge. Gent.
- A. B. -
- C. Possibly a conspirator, for in 4 Ed. VI, the Duke of Northumberland was granted the castle and manor of Tonbridge. (See Thomas, below.)
14. DIXSON, Thomas. Hilden, nr. Tonbridge. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Cousin of Gawin. He held Hilden from North-umberland by Knight's service, and therefore, probably a conspirator. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 144 and Cal. Pat. Rolls V-VI p. 5.)

15. FISHER, Alexander. ? Priest.

A. B. -

C. An Alexander Fisher was arrested as a follower of Wyatt (see Fisher, Bucks.). It is uncertain which of the brothers is which, or indeed if he who was arrested was indeed an exile. One at least was brought before the Council Aug. 22nd 1553, for preaching a seditious sermon. (Dasent IV pp. 321,328.)

16. FRANK, Walter. Tenterden. Gent.

A. B. -

C. In 1511 a John Frank of Tenterden was made to recant his heresies, and it is likely that the exile may be one of his four sons, one of whom, Peter, was gentleman Usher to Anne Boleyn. (Stowe Survey of London 1633 ed. p. 239 and Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 7048 f. 450.) At this time Jasper Horsey and Sir Wymond Carew, of Somerset and Cornwall respectively, were Queen Anne's Stewards. Each had 2 sons in exile under Mary (q.v.).

17. FRENSHAM, Edward. Great Chart. Gent.

A. B. -

C. A friend of Randolph, and whilst abroad, most intent on having the Discipline of Zurich (i.e. of Zwingli) adopted by all the churches of exiles. Known to many exiles - the two Rawlins, Abel, Walsingham, Wilford, Railton - he died abroad in 1559. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 416 ff. 125-128, Orig. letter, Frensham to Randolph, 1556.)

18. FYNEUX, William. Herne. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Not an ardent reformer, for in 1541 he had stood as executor to a will which provided for the burning of candles before the Sacrament for a year. (Arch. Cant. XXX p. 121.) He was abroad with the Earl of Bedford, but came home, and died, apparently unmolested, in 1557. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 159 and ref.) His widow, Frideswide Fyneux, died intestate in Dec. 1558. (Kent Co. Record Office ms. C Act 3 f. 31v.)

19. HALES, Christopher. Halden, and of Hales Place, Warwickshire. Gent.

A. -

B. 1563 M.P. Great Bedwin Borough.

C. A Fellow of T. Lever's College, St. John's Cambridge. It was to Hales Place that Martin Marprelate's press was removed from Fawsley.

20. HALES, John. Halden. Gent.

A. 1548 One of the Commissioners of Enclosures. M.P. Preston. Clerk of the Hanaper to Henry VIII and Edward VI. (Inst. Hist. Res. Bulletin I no. 2 p. 63.)

B. 1563-66 M.P. Lancaster Borough ? (Return of Members I p. 404.)

C. A follower of Wyatt (Cal. Sp. Papers XII 51) and possibly private secretary to Cecil (F. S. Thomas, Historical Notes I 355); he was one of the Disputants about the Sacrament in Cecil's house. (Strype, Life of Cheke 1821 ed. p. 69-86 cf. D.N.B. VIII 914 which omits this episode.) He and Darnet (q.v. Leics.) had a chief part in the justification of the Suffolk claim to the throne in 1564. (See Isaac, below.)

21. HAMMOND, William. Acres, Nr. Canterbury. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Probably he who was servant to the Duke of Somerset, and later a Dudley conspirator. (Tytler, Collection of Ancient Letters, Ed. VI to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Dec. 20th 1551, Camd. Soc XLII p. 10.)

22. HAMMOND, William. Nonington. (Harl. Soc. Visitation LXXIV p. 58.) Gent.

A. B. -

C. This man, I believe to be, not the son of the above (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. 175), but probably a cousin of the same name of whom it was complained that he had stolen certain things from Well or Womanswold Chapel, and kept pigeons there. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.8.4 f. 13r, Presentments for religion in Mary's time, otherwise undated.)

His sister was married to John Sea, and, as late as 1614, Hammond and Thomas Sea (Seear) were examined before the Visitors of the Arch-deacon of Canterbury for labouring at harvest upon the Sabbath. Defendants replied that certain piece workers had done so without their knowledge. (Arch. Cant. XXXVI passim.) He must, therefore, have been a youth in exile.

23. ISAAC, Edward. Well and Patricksbourn. Gent.

A. -

B. 1564 Recommended for J.P. in Essex (Letters from the Bishop to the Council, Camd. Misc. IX p. 63). It is not known whether he was appointed.

1568/9 Sheriff of Kent. (Laing, Knox's Works IV 46 note.)

1572 Member of the High Commission in the S. Province. (R. H. Usher op.cit. 353.)

C. Friend of Latimer, and patron of Edwin Sandys, Under Mary he was presented for keeping hay in

Well Chapel, and for kennelling his hounds there. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.8.4 f. 18v.) In 1569 the Vicar of Charing, Kent, was presented to the Archdeacon's Visitors for marrying persons outside the church in private houses, and one of these was a "Mistress Hales" married to "Mr. Isake". (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. z.3.10 pt. I f. 36.) (See Hales, above.)

24. JACKSON, William. Deal. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Possibly he who, in 1548, as a parishioner of Deal, gave evidence against the parson for maintaining transubstantiation. Later on he is said to be 32 years old at this time. (Arch. Cant. XXXI p. 93.)

25. JOSEPH, John. Canterbury. Ex-religious, D.D.

A. B. -

C. Witness at the trial of Gardiner 1549 (Foxe A and M V 770.) After 1550, as a preacher at Canterbury, where he had been appointed by Cranmer, he "converted not a few to sincere religion." (Strype, Life of Cranmer, 229.) Deprived for marriage.

26. LANGELEY, Thomas. Ulcombe (P.R.O. ms. K.B. 8/32 f. 3). Millwright, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. Indicted as one of the Surrey rebels in Feb. 1554.
On March 8th 1558/9, as a clerk, presented to the parish church of Slawgham, Chichester diocese. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. U 2 f. 43r. Reg. Dean and Chap.) Slaugham is still only a tiny village in the woods in W. Sussex, so that this presentment is of interest because it shews how the Elizabethan settlement found a way of employing some of the less educated clergy who obtained ordination at the beginning of the reign.

So long as Langeley was occupied there, he could not be getting himself embroiled in sectarian circles in London.

27. MASON, Richard. Halden (or London?). Servant.

A. B. -

C. At Frankfurt, a servant of John Hales.

28. MOUNTAIN, Thomas. Milton, and London. Priest.

A. B. -

C. Son of a servant to Edward VI. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 425 f. 114 Mountain's account of his arrest.) Imprisoned in the Marshalsea for being in possession of a copy of a pamphlet derogatory to the King and Queen, to whom in prison Wyatt sent one of his chaplains to offer him release. (Ibid. f. 107.)

Miss Garrett (op.cit. 233 and ref.) states that he was deprived of his rectory of St. Michael, Tower Royal, formerly Whittington College, by the reversion of the establishment to its former status under its original name. This, however, was not the case. On March 30th 1555 a John Draper was appointed to that rectory by Mountain's deprivation. (Cath. Lib. Cant. Reg. Dean and Chap. 1553-58 ms. V I f. 18 b.)

29. PEERS, James. Bethersden. (Kent Co. Record Office ms. A 40 f. 17Or.) Priest, ex-religious.

A. B. -

C. Probably some relation of John Peers, for whom, on Sept. 18th 1557, Archdeacon Harpsfield sent out orders to be apprehended (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. z.3.32 ff. VII and 65.). He had not come to church since Mass began. James Peers and his wife are recorded as "being disobedyent to the quene Lawes" (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.8.4. f. 19v.) in matters of religion under Mary. He died 1568, leaving all his goods to his wife Joan, and in trust for his son Thomas, still under 21. (Kent Co. Record Office ms. A 40 f. 17Or.)

30. PONET, John. Bishop.
- A. 1550 Preached Lent Friday Sermons before Edward VI.
Bishop of Rochester.
1551 Bishop of Winchester.
 - B. -
 - C. Cranmer's chaplain, friend of Ascham, and possibly concerned in Wyatt's rebellion.
Died abroad 1556.
31. PORREGE, William. Sandwich. Priest, with no degree (Strype, Life of Grindal, 54.).
- A. B. -
 - C. Ordained by Grindal 1560, presented to the parish church of Grimston, Norwich diocese, Aug. 27th 1560. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 154v.) Died Jan. 1565/66, leaving a wife Joan, but no children. (Kent Co. Record Office ms. C 30 f. 325v.)
32. PROUDE, Richard. Feversham and Canterbury. Gent.
- A. B. -
 - C. His aunt was Edmond Chrispe's wife, and possibly Proude was a conspirator like Richard Chrispe (q.v.)
33. RANDOLPH, Edward. Badelsmere. Gent.
- A. 1549 Captain of 200 foot at Berwick (Hist. ms. Com. Rutland ms. I pp. 37 and 34.)
 - B. 1559 Nov. Privy Council's messenger to Sir Ralph Sadler in Scotland. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 31.2.19 no. 137 from Cotton. ms.)
1563 High Marshal of the garrison, Newhaven.
1564 Lieutenant of Ordnance, at a fee of 100 marks. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 vol. XXVIII no. 54.)

- C. A conspirator, for in 1554 he was granted a pardon of all treasons and rebellions. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 vol. IV no. 24.)
Killed in Ireland 1566, his wife, Sybil, marrying again soon after. (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. I 341 and Arch. Cant. XVIII p. 18.) (See John Hastings, London.)

34. RANDOLPH, Thomas. Badelsmere. Gent.

A. -

- B. 1559 M.P. Grantham Borough, as Cecil's nominee. (J. E. Neale, Eliz. Ho. of Commons, p. 205.)
1559-66 Elizabeth's confidential agent in Scotland, and periodically later.
1566-90 Master of the Posts.
1568-9 Ambassador to Russia.

- C. Probably a conspirator like his brother.
He married Anne Walsingham, Sir Francis' sister, upon his return.

35. REYNOLDS, Henry. ? Rector.

A. B. -

- C. Rector of St. Mary, Somerset, and Badingham, Norfolk, he held no priests' orders, and as a married priest was deprived of both livings in 1554. (E. L. C. Mullins, The Effects of the Marian and Elizabethan Settlements upon the Clergy of London 1553-64, M.A. thesis I.H.R.)
Since his origin is uncertain he has been placed in Kent, because there was a family of protestant Reynolds there. (Cath. Lib. Cant. Archdeacons Visitation 1582-90 pt. II f. 174.)

36. REYNOLDS, John. ? Ex-religious.

A. B. -

- C. No reason can be found for his exile, but upon his return funds were partially provided by Walsingham to establish a lectureship at Oxford for him (Conyers Read, Walsingham II 261-265.). It is interesting to find these

two in touch, for Heylyn says that they, together with Leicester, Knollys and Huntingdon, were Whitgift's "open enemies" (Aerius Redivivus 276 1640 ed.) He became President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and when he, Hooker and 3 others were expelled in 1579 he wrote to Sir Francis Knollys for assistance. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 983 f. 64.) In October 1598, he succeeded William Cole as Dean of Lincoln. He died May 21st 1607.

37. ROGERS, Richard. Sutton Valence. Gent.

A. -

B. 1568 Bishop Suffragan of Dover.

C. Later, brother-in-law of Thomas Cranmer, son of the Archbishop.

38. SADE, Peter. Halden. Servant.

A. B. -

C. Servant to John Hales at Frankfurt.

39. SERES, Thomas. ? Printer ?

A. B. -

C. Miss Garrett (op.cit. 287), while giving the name as Serbis, finds that no such name can be discovered in England at this time. Without having seen the original autograph, it is impossible to form any definite conclusion. It seems worth while remarking, however, that a William Seres, one of Cecil's servants in Edward VI's reign, was licensed to print "all manner of private Prayers called Primers as should be agreeable to the Book of Common Prayer established in the Court of Parliament", in the years of Edward VI. In this license "Assigns" - i.e. assistant deputies - are provided for, and Thomas may have been one of these (see R. Crowley, Glos.). (Stow, Survey of London II 221 1770 ed.) Later, he may have served the Duchess of Suffolk in her exile.

40. SHARP, Robert. ? Preacher.

A. B. -

C. A member of the Family of Love and possibly related to that Richard Sharpe who in Jan. 1598/9, was examined in the Archdeacon's Court, Canterbury, for maintaining that the Book of Common Prayer was heresy, and that Common Prayer was not necessary in churches, because it might be read at home. (Arch. Cant. XXVI from Archdeacon's Visitation 1598 f. 127.)

41. SPRAT, Thomas. Sandwich. Tanner.

A. B. -

C. Once a servant in Sandwich, he deserted his master. (Foxe A and M VIII 576-8) In Mary's reign he was presented "for that he refusith to goo in procession and that hath no beads and will not paye the cesse for the furnytur of the church" (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. x.8.4 f. 9v.).

42. WALSINGHAM, Francis. Chislehurst. Gent.

A. -

B. 1559 M.P. Banbury.

1562 M.P. Lyme Regis, possibly assisted to membership by his predecessor, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

1564 J.P. for Hertfordshire. (Camd. Misc. IX p. 61, Letters of the Bishops to the Privy Co.)

1570-73 Ambassador to France.

1572-90 Secretary of State.

1576, '84 Member of the High Commission. (R. G. Usher op.cit. 359.)

1578 Ambassador to the Low Countries to arrange for a peace with Don John. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.1.11 f. 58v, Procs between Eliz. and Low Countries.)

1581, '83 Ambassador to Scotland.

1587 Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

His fee, plus an allowance of £4 for "paper,

parchment and incke" was £143.16.0. (Reg. Ho. Border Corresp. June 17th 1588, Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.1. Duchy of Lancaster.)

- C. His step-father had been Queen Mary's custodian (Conyers Read, Walsingham I 22). Second cousin to Thomas Randolph, who married his sister. His mother was aunt to the Denny brothers in exile. (Ibid. pp. 26, 184.)

43. WHETNALL, George. East Peckham. Gent.

A. B. -

- C. Probably a conspirator, since one of the family, (see below) was especially named in Brett's commission.
In 1542 Thomas Becon stayed with this family after his recantation, and dedicated his book "The pleasant New Nosegay" to George Whetnall in May of that year. (D. S. Bailey, New College, Edinburgh, Ph.D. thesis 1947 p. 86.)

44. WHETNALL, Roger. ? Gent.

A. B. -

- C. Probably a relative of George and Thomas. Especially named in Brett's Commission of 1556, and therefore a likely Dudley conspirator.

45. WHETNALL, Thomas. East Peckham. Gent.

A. B. -

- C. Son of George Whetnall (above), and related to Sir Henry Neville, his father being husband to Sir Henry's first cousin, Alice. (D. S. Bailey New College, Edinburgh, Ph.D. thesis 1947 p. 493.)

46. WIBORNE, Percival. Hakewell. Gent.

A. B. -

- C. Some time in Mary's reign, a carpenter, servant of the Wiborne's, was indicted "for sytting

behind a pillar at elevation tyme, and doth no reverence thereto". (Arch. Cant. XXXI p. 106 from Presentments Consistory Court, Canterbury.) A Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, Wiborne undoubtedly acquired T. Lever's protestant intransigency. In 1564 he was sequestered, and in 1566 made a journey of complaint to Zurich in order to see Beza. (H. J. Hessel, Ecclesiae Londino - Batavae Archivum II 169, Wiborne to Beza, June 13th 1578.) In 1571 he was again cited for non-conformity and suspected in 1573 of having a share in the Admonition controversy. Yet in 1580 he is listed by Burghley among those who are Puritans in Kent "with their sayings and Assertions", so that he was still preaching at this time. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 30 f. 212.) In 1590, he became chaplain to Lady Bacon. His career is typical of those who were too extreme to conform to the Elizabethan Settlement; he was constantly in and out of trouble and ever on the verge of Separatism.

47. WILFORD, Francis. Hartridge. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Brother-in-law of Edwin Sandys, (York Dioc. Reg. Bishops Reg. 31 f. 59v.) a marriage doubtless resulting from their sharing the same house in Frankfurt.

48. WILFORD, Thomas. Hartridge. Gent.

A. -

B. 1585 Commanded a Company at Ostend, and saw much subsequent service in the Netherlands and France.
1589 Lieutenant of Kent.
1590 Superintendant of Admiralty works, Dover.
1593 Governor of Camber Castle.

C. Half-brother of Francis (above).

49. WILLOUGHBY, Thomas. Canterbury. Canon of Canterbury.

A. -

B. Chaplain to the Queen.

C. Allied to the Staffords (q.v.). (Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 36542 f. 142.)
Besides being reinstated at Canterbury and being made Dean of Rochester, he was presented by the Queen to the office of precentor and to a prebendal stall at Chichester, March 1569/70 (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 199v.), and was Treasurer of Canterbury Cathedral. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. Reg. V ff. 21,45.)

50. WOOD, Henry. Dover. Ex-religious.

A. B. -

C. A married man, for his wife and 3 children were in exile with him. With two others and the Master, he surrendered the monastery of St. Mary's Hospital, Dover, to the King, 1536. (P.R.O. Excheq. Aug. Office, E 322 no. 77.)

S U S S E X

1. APPLEBY, John. Thacham. Gent, later ordained ?

A.)-

B.) J.P. ? (Letters from the Bishops to the P.C. Camd. Misc. IX p. 9.)

C. Either he who was presented to the Rectory of Norton, July 7th 1561, and subsequently, by the Archbishop, to "Sondrich" Kent the following Dec. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I ff. 235r and v and 349.)
or he who was "learned in the lawe" and became a J.P. in 1564. Probably the former, since a Walter Appleby was martyred at Maidstone. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 72.)

3. BARKER, Edmund. ? Priest ?

A. B. -

C. Possibly deprived for insufficiency of orders. On June 26th 1559, he was instituted to the parish church of Marsham, Norwich diocese. (Norwich Reg. Institution Bk. XVIII f. 224 r.), although J. Venn (Alumni Cantab.), states that he did not receive deacons orders until 1566.

3. BRADBRIDGE, Augustin. Chichester. Priest.

A. B. -

C. Little is known of this exile. (Fuller states that it was indeed Augustine that fled and not his brother, William Bradbridge, cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. 96 and H. J. Cowell Reprint, Proc. Hug. Soc. XV no. 1 p. 4.)

4. CARWELL, Thomas. Warnham. Gent.

A. 1553 Captain of Wisbeach Castle.

B. -

C. He and one Beauper had possibly betrayed Wisbeach to Dudley, and Carwell fled, taking Beauper's wife with him out of danger. (Dasent IV pp. 302-3,415.)

5. DONNING, Anthony. Rye. Gent.

A. B. C. -

6. LUCK, John. W. Tarring. Gent.

A. B. C. -

7. MORLEY, John. Glynd. Gent.

A. 1554 M.P. Lewes Borough.

B. 1586 M.P. St. Ives Borough.

C. The mother of John and William Morley was a Wotton, one of whose aunts had married Thomas

Grey, 2nd Marquess of Dorset, father of the conspirators to whom the Morleys attached themselves. (Stowe, Survey of London, 1633 ed. pp. 135, 333.) Later John associated with the Earl of Leicester and obtained the right to appoint rectors in the churches in the franchises and liberties of Bodenham, Burghill, Cowarne, Kingstone, and Stretford in Hereford. (Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 6693 ff. 254, 259.)

8. MORLEY, William. Glynd. Gent.
 - A. B. -
 - C. Brother of John (above).
9. PELHAM, John. Laughton. Gent.
 - A. -
 - B. 1569 J.P. (Camd. Misc. IX p. 10 note a.)
 - C. Cousin of the Morleys, (above). (Harl. Soc. Visitations LIII p. 48.) His uncle was indicted for rebellion under Wyatt, and he himself was probably a Dudley conspirator. (Baga de Secretis, p. 241 and Dasent VI pp. 110-111.)
10. YOUNG, William. W. Wittering or Rye. Gent.
 - A. Commissioned by Henry VIII to ransom prisoners taken by the French at Dieppe. (Foxe A and M VIII 583.)
 - B. -
 - C. He who rescued Thomas Rose from Dieppe, because "he had heard him preach before". (Foxe A and M VIII 583.) (See T. Rose, Devon, below.)

S U R R E Y

1. PARKHURST, John. Guildford. Priest.

- A. 1547 Chaplain to Catherine Parr.
 - B. 1560 Bishop of Norwich.
 - C. Also chaplain to the Duchess of Suffolk, and a close friend of Bishop Hooper of Gloucester. (See also T. Walker, Northants.)
2. TURNER, William. Chaplain and physician
- A. Chaplain and physician to the Duke of Somerset.
 - B. -
 - C. Abroad in Henry VIII's reign, having been banished for preaching without license or sufficient orders. After Somerset's execution, the Duchess took certain household goods to his house at Kew, assisted by 2 other exiles, Selye and Wallis (q.v. below and Cornwall). He introduced John a Lasco to Somerset and was married before exile. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 ff. 49, 51.)¹
3. WALLIS, John. Wimbledon. (Camd. Soc. N.S.XXXVIII 120.) Baker.
- A. B. -
 - C. Servant to the Duke of Somerset.

H A M P S H I R E

1. COTTESFORD, Thomas. Winchester. Priest.
- A. 1547 One of the Visitors for the S.W. dioceses.
 - B. -
 - C. Imprisoned for setting forth an epistle by Melancthon 1540 (see J. Black, London). He published abroad a translation of Zwingli's sermon; this translation he had most likely made whilst still in England, carrying it abroad with him. (Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing. ms.)

1) See also Wells Cath. Cal. II London 1914 pp. 273, 282, and 288.

III 651 ms. note of the author John Bale on his own "Scriptorum" f. 244.) He was deprived of his prebend and canonry at York, not in 1555 (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. 129 and ref.), but before May 19th 1554. (York Dioc. Reg. Archiepiscopal Reg. 5 f. 690r.)

2. HANCOCK, Thomas. Twineham. Preacher.

A. B. -

C. After his return, joined the Plummer's Hall congregation.

3. KINGSMILL, Henry. Sidmanton. Gent.

A. B. -

C. In the train of the Earl of Bedford in Venice, 1555, and probably a conspirator. James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, dying 1576, left Bedford and Henry's brother Richard his executors. His wife's name was Alice. (York Dioc. Reg. Bishop's Reg. 31 f. 11r and v.)

4. RENIGER, Michael. Broughton. Gent.

A. -

B. 1561 Chaplain to the Queen.

C. The immediate cause of his flight was no doubt due to his translation of a work on the marriage of the priesthood, from Latin to English, whilst still at Oxford. (Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing ms. III 651 ms. note by the author (Bale) on the margin of his own copy of "Scriptorum" f. 245v.) In 1545, his brother Richard was especially listed as one of those who attacked Spanish ships. (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Galba B X f. 251.)

5. RYTH, Richard. Southampton. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Proclaimed a traitor with Dudley, April 1556. (Camd. Soc. XLII 103.)

D O R S E T S H I R E

1. BROWNE, John. Gent.
 A. B. -
 C. Possibly the rebel executed at Hull for his part in Thomas Stafford's expedition.
2. CARVELL, Nicholas. ? Gent, later ordained.
 A. B. C. -
3. STEPHINSON, Cornelius. New Forest ? Merchant.
 A. B. -
 C. Friend of Cecil and Edward Horsly who assisted him upon his return in certain mining operations. Possibly a Fleming. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 30 ff. 6 and 7.)
4. TEMPLE, William. Stower Provost. Gent.
 A. B. -
 C. A mathematician, possibly abroad purely for that purpose.
5. WILLIAMS, William. Herringstone. Gent.
 A. Assay Master of the Mint, Dublin. (Dasent IV p. 74.)
 B. 1571 Some connection with the Mint. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 vol. XXXVII no. 30.)
 C. Friend of John Bale, whom he sheltered upon the beginning of his flight into exile.

D E V O N S H I R E

1. ALFORD, Hugh. Honiton. Gent.
 A. B. C. -

2. BODLEY, John. Exeter. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. In 1536 and Nov. 1543, his goods were confiscated by the Emperor, in the course of the religious-mercantile rivalry between the merchants in the Low Countries. (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Galba B X ff. 208, 293.) A financier of the Rising of the West, a relative of the Carews. In 1560 he was granted a patent for the exclusive printing of the Geneva Bible, which was renewed in March 1565/6. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. VIII f. 82.)

3. BODLEY, Nicholas. Exeter. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Brother of John, and also a likely conspirator.

4. BOGGENS, John. Exeter. Apprentice to John Bodley.

A. B. C. -

5. CAREW, Sir Peter. Mohuns Ottery. Gent.

A. 1530 Gent. Privy Chamber to Henry VIII.
1544 Captain of one of the King's ships in the Channel. (Archeologia XXVIII 108 Lyffe of Sir Peter Carew.)
1545 M.P. Tavistock.
1547 Sheriff of Devonshire.
Captain of the "Great Venetian". (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. I 52 Muster roll of the navy.)
1553 M.P. Devon County.

B. 1559 M.P. ?
1560 Queen's messenger to reconnoitre Leith for the purpose of capture. (Hatfield ms. I pp. 220, 227.)
1565 Commission for suppressing piracy in Devon. (Dasent VII p. 283.)
1566 M.P. - (D'Ewes Journal, 1684 ed. p. 126).
1572 Guard to the Duke of Norfolk at his trial. (Hatfield ms. II no. 7.)

C. One of the leaders in the Western Rising, and in constant touch with Courtenay throughout, by means of a cipher, carved on a guitar; (Cal. Sp. Papers XII p. 139.) he fled to Rouen January 1554, and joined France in attacking Spanish ships. By May, he was suing for pardon (Sp. Cal. XII p. 264), and he returned to England in 1555.

6. CHICHESTER, Sir John. Yolston. Gent.

A. 1554 M.P. Devon.

B. 1563 M.P. Devon.

C. With the Earl of Bedford at Venice, and probably a conspirator. (Venetian Cal. 1555-6 nos. 169, 171 and Camd. Soc. XLII p. 104, Machyn's diary.)

7. CHIDLEY, George. Ashton ? Lawyer ?

A. B. C. -

8. CHIDLEY, Christopher. Ashton. Gent.

A. B. -

C. An associate of Dudley in France, and a likely conspirator. (Strype Eccles. Mem. III pt. I pp. 566, 569.)

9. COURTENAY, Sir Edward. Ugbrooke. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Nephew of Sir Peter Carew, at Caen March 1554, and probably a conspirator. (Cal. S.P. For. 1553-8 no. 170.)

10. COURTENAY, Edward. Earl of Devon.

A. B. -

C. Released by Mary, after 12 years in the Tower, he became the Candidate for the Western Rising. Died abroad.

11. COURTENAY, John. Powderham. Gent.

A. Oct. 1553 M.P. Lostwithiel Borough.
Nov. 1554 M.P. Bodmin Borough.

B. -

C. Uncle of Sir Edward Courtenay and probably a participant in the W. rising. He followed Carew to Normandy, acting as his second-in-command of the rebel fleet in Brittany. (Cal. Sp. Papers XII 176.)

12. HILLIARD, Nicholas. Exeter ? Painter ?

A. B. -

C. Origin uncertain, possibly the Elizabethan miniature painter. (C. H. Garrett op.cit.183.) He may, however, be of that family from Winestead, Yorks, whose members sat in Parliament 1563, 1571, 1572, and were constant members of the Council of the North. (See J. E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons, p. 191.)

13. JEWEL, John. Buden.¹ Archdeacon.

A. -

B. 1559 Disputant at the Westminster conference, preacher at Pauls Cross.
1560 Bishop of Salisbury.
Visitor of the W. dioceses.

C. Pupil, at Oxford, of John Parkhurst.
1544 Notary to Ridley and Cranmer in their disputation at Oxford.

14. KELLY, Walter. Gent ? later ordained.

A. B. -

¹ Not Bude, as given in Miss Garrett's book (op.cit. p. 198) cf. D.N.B. X 815.

C. Ordained By Grindal, 1560.

15. KIRKHAM, James. Blagdon. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Involved in the W. rising, he escaped with Sir Peter Carew to France in one of the Killigrews' ships. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 209 and ref.)

16. KNOLLES, Thomas. Tor. Ex-religious.

A. B. -

C. From the monastery of the Holy Saviour, at Tor, he fled with his wife to Geneva.

17. NICOLLS, Philip. Ilfracombe. Protestant author, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. A protégé of Sir Peter Carew.

18. ROGERS, Sir Edward. Lopit. Gent.

A. 1549 Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. (Dasent II p. 345.)

B. 1558 P.C. and Vice-Chamberlain to Elizabeth. 1560-66 Comptroller of the Household. (Edin. Univ. Lib. Laing ms. III 247 f. 75, but cf. D.N.B. XVII 118 which gives 1560-1565.) 1563 M.P. Somerset County.

C. Jan.- March 1550, imprisoned for connivance in Arundell's pecculation. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.2.14, Scudamore to Hoby March 2nd 1549/50.) Involved in Wyatt's rebellion. (Dasent IV p. 400.)

19. ROSE, Thomas. Exmouth. Priest.

A. B. -

C. Although mentioned by Foxe (A and M VIII 581-90), he has been subsequently overlooked.

Born about 1487, he died in his early seventies at Luton, Beds. He was priested, brought to Polstead, Suffolk and then to Hadley, where he inveighed against "purgatory, praying to Saints, and images", so that John Bale, before he himself was converted, was brought to preach against him about 1522. Imprisoned for heresy, he was freed by Cranmer, receiving a living at Stratford at Bow, and patronised by Lord Chancellor Audley. (q.v. Somerset). When the "Six Articles" were passed, he fled abroad, to escape arrest, to Flanders, Zurich, Basle and - significantly - Aarau. He lived in Aarau for 3 years with his wife and young child. He set out for England, was wrecked and imprisoned in Dieppe, until ransomed by "Master Young" (q.v. Sussex). Upon Edward VI's succession, he was licensed to preach, and installed at West Ham. Deprived under Mary, he preached secretly to a congregation in London. On May 19th 1555 he was brought before Bishop Hopton of Norwich for denying the Real Presence, and sent before Gardiner, but he escaped at the time of Mary's "child-travail, which was looked for". - i.e. 1555 or 1557. I am inclined to favour 1557, for it was at this time that the colony of Aarau was formed, whilst Lord Audley was the only one of noble rank in that colony. It is therefore very probable that Rose persuaded his old patron and possibly the whole colony to go to that city which he so well knew. Under Elizabeth, Rose was reinstated at West Ham. (Foxe A and M VIII 580-91, and Signet Lib. Edin. Articles on the 16th century no. 8.)

20. TREMAINE, Andrew. Collacombe. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Transported Sir Peter Carew to France after the Western rising. (q.v. above.)

21. TREMAINE, Edmund. Collacombe. Gent.

A. -

B. 1561-65 Deputy Butler for Devonshire. (Cal.

S.P. Dom. Addend. XII 48.)

1569 Special Mission to Ireland to report on the country to Burghley.

1571-82 Clerk of the Privy Council. (E.H.R. XXXVIII p. 56 n. 3.)

1572 M.P. Plymouth.

C. A servant of the Earl of Devonshire and later of the Earl of Bedford abroad in exile. Suspected of complicity in Wyatt's rebellion. Brother of Andrew.

22. TREMAINE, Nicholas. Collacombe. Gent and soldier.

A. -

B. 1560 Queen's messenger - used by Throckmorton. (Cal. S.P. For. 1560-61 nos. 16, 232.)

C. Directly involved in the Dudley conspiracy. (Camd. Soc. XLII p. 103 Machyn's Diary.) Brother of Andrew.

23. TREMAINE, Richard. Collacombe. Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. With his brother Nicholas, involved in the Dudley conspiracy.

24. VIVIAN, Richard. Exeter. Merchant Apprentice.

A. B. -

C. An apprentice of John Bodley (q.v. above) and probably a conspirator.

25. WILLVES, Peter. Totnes. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Probably a conspirator; a friend of Edmund Tremayne. (Cal. S.P. Dom. Addend. 1560-65 vol. XII no. 48.)

G U E R N S A Y

1. BEAUVOIR, William. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. One of those merchants whose goods were confiscated during the long London-Antwerp quarrel (cf. Bodley, Devon). (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Galba B X ff. 207 and 293.) His exile in Geneva bore fruit, for it was he who obtained a minister from Calvin and established a church on Genevan lines at St. Peter's Port, Guernsay. (Trans. Congreg. Hist. Soc. III 1907-8, Puritans in the Channel Isles, E. Le Brun, p. 111.)

C O R N W A L L

1. CAREW, Matthew. Anthony. Gent, later ordained.

A. -

B. 1583 One of the 12 Masters in Chancery at a fee of £6.14.0. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.1 f. 16.)

C. His father, Sir Wymond, had been a favourite of Edward VI (see W. Frank, Kent). Probably a conspirator in the Western rising.

2. CAREW, Roger. Anthony. Gent.

A. -

B. 1563-67 M.P. St. Albans Borough.

C. Brother of Matthew (above). Probably a conspirator, since the two brothers were in Padua in Aug. 1554. (Camd. Misc. X pp. 116-117, Diary of Sir T. Hoby.)

3. GODOLPHIN, William. Gent.

A. B. -

C. A conspirator, in Bedford's train at Venice.
(Venetian Cal. 1555-6 nos. 169, 171.)

4. KILLIGREW, Henry. Arwenack. Gent.

A. 1552-3 M.P. Launceston.

B. 1559 Assisted the Ambassador in Paris.
1566, '72, '73, -'75. Ambassador to Scotland.
(Reg. Ho. Sc. Corresp.)
1569 Embassy to Duke Casimir, to arrange for
the recapture of Calais. (Hist. ms. Com.
Hatfield ms. I nos. 1287, 1302-4.)
1572 M.P. Truro.

C. Assisted Sir Peter Carew to escape after Wyatt's
rebellion.

5. KILLIGREW, Peter. Arwenack. Gent.

A. -

B. 1573 Probably Burghley's messenger to Henry
Killigrew in Scotland. (Burghley State Papers
II p. 245.)
1576 Captain of one of the Queen's ships at
sea. (Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow ms. 28.6.7
f. 167.)

C. A pirate of long standing, who, being in France
at the time of Carew's rebellion, endeavoured
to recruit soldiers from among his fellow-
exiles for the enterprise. (Cal. Sp. Papers
XII 132.) He later joined Sir Peter Carew
in France in his piratical raids in the Channel,
but he was captured in July 1556 and placed
in the Tower in August. It was thought that
his wealthy father's efforts to obtain his
release would fail, and this view has been
held subsequently. It is now known that he
served as a Captain in the Fleet which was
cruising in the Channel in 1556 under the pro-
testant Lord Admiral, William Howard.
Killigrew must have been a good seaman, and,
having revealed the plans of the intended rebel
invasion from France, the Council was doubtless
willing to release him after he had promised

to serve his captors in any endeavour to frustrate the rebel plans. (Venetian Cal. 1555-6 pp. 536, 571, and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 28.6.8 p. 167 "Captaynes servinge at the seas" and Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 p. 86.) The family's addiction to piracy and lawlessness may be deduced from the fact that, under Elizabeth, the Killigrews' sister-in-law, Lady Killigrew of Arwenack, was accused of leading a boarding party in person and killing the Hanseatic factor on board a ship at Falmouth harbour, merely for 2 barrels of pieces of eight. (Hatfield Papers V 519.)

6. KILLIGREW, Thomas. Arwenack. Gent.

A. B. -

C. A brother of Peter.

7. MOHUN, William. Hall. Gent.

A. -

B. 1563 M.P. St. Germans Borough.

C. Related to the Horseys, Carews and Courtenays, and almost certainly a rebel.

8. SAMUEL, William. ? Gent.

A. Servant of the Duke of Somerset.

B. -

C. His wife was a Tremayne and he may have been a rebel. (Harl. Soc. Visitations IX 196.)

9. SELYE, Ralph. ? Gent.

A. Yeoman Usher to the Duke of Somerset. (Camd. Soc. ms. XXXVII p. 120.)

B. -

C. See W. Turner (Surrey).

10. TRAHERON, Bartholomew. ? Ex-religious.

A. 1547-52 M.P. Barnstaple.
1549 Edward VI's Librarian.

B. -

C. Favourite of Cromwell, and well known to Calvin,
from his previous exile of 1537-38.
1549-50 Tutor to the Duke of Suffolk. Upon
Mary's accession he resigned his ecclesiastical
appointments and went abroad again, dying in
Wesel in 1558.

11. WHITEHEAD, David. ? Priest.

A. Chaplain to Anne Boleyn. (Wood, Fasti I 396.)

B. 1559 Preached at Pauls Cross.
Disputant at the Westminster Conference,
Visitor for Oxford.

C. Tutor to the young Duke of Suffolk, one of
the disputants at the discussion of the Sacra-
ment at Cecil's house.

S O M E R S E T

1. AUDLEY, Lord John. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Possibly the father-in-law of Sir Henry Dudley.
(C. H. Garrett op.cit. 75.) Patronised Thomas
Rose (q.v. Devon).

2. BARLOW, William. Bishop, ex-religious.

A. 1529-30 Embassy to France and Rome.
1536 Embassy to Scotland.
Bishop of St. Asaph, translated to St. David's.
1548 Bishop of Bath and Wells.

B. 1559 Bishop of Chichester.

C. A favourite of Anne Boleyn. (L and P Henry
VIII 1534 no. 1024.)

Possibly the pamphleteer connected with Roy and Tyndale 1527. (J. F. Morley, W. Tyndale, p. 110.) His brother John was chaplain to Sir Thomas Boleyn; his cousin Anne married Lord Grey. (Camd. Soc. n.s. XVII 233.) His wife's name was Agatha. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f. 45, the name is not given in the D.N.B. I 1149.)

3. COLLYN, John. ? Chantry priest.

A. B. C. -

4. HARVEY, Nicholas? (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 181) or Thomas. Brockley. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Probably a conspirator, for on Oct. 29th 1555 a Thomas Harvey wrote to the Earl of Devonshire asking to be allowed to accompany him abroad. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 vol. VI no. 37.) Richard Gawton (q.v. London), William Fuller's servant, mentioned, in his examination of 1576, when he was deprived for nonconformity, a "Mr. Harvié". This is likely to be Thomas, ordained deacon by Grindal, Jan. 1560. (Strype, Life of Grindal, p. 36 1710 ed.) Both Gawton and a Harvey were servants of great men in exile, and both Gawton and a Harvey were to be deprived upon their return from Geneva for nonconformity. It is likely that the exile was Thomas rather than Nicholas. (Nat. Lib. Scot. Wodrow ms. 45. 2.2 ms. no. 9 f. 73,74 Extract from Part of a Register.)

5. HORSEY, Edward. Exton. Gent.

A. -

B. 1565 Captain of the Isle of Wight at a salary of £20 p.a. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.1 f. 32 and Dasent VIII p. 65.)
1569 Commanded 500 men at York against the Rebellion. (Hist. ms. Com. Hatfield ms. no. 1427.)
1572 M.P. Southampton County.

1573 Ambassador to France, during the Alençon Negotiations.

1577 Ambassador to Don John in the Low Countries, with Doctor Thomas Wilson.

C. A conspirator and friend of the Dudleys (see W. Frank, Kent).

6. HORSEY, Francis. Exton. Gent.

A. B. -

C. A brother of Edward, and like him, a conspirator.

7. HUNTINGDON, John. Exeter? Student and preacher.

A. B. -

C. 1553 Brought before the P.C. for preaching sedition and for speaking against the Sacrament. (Dasent IV 369.) He was married at this time. (Camd. Soc. XLII p. 208.)

8. JONES, Galfri. Bristol. Priest.

A. B. -

C. Deprived for marriage, 1554. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. p. 64 and ref.)

9. KELKE, John. Bristol. Merchant.

A. B. C. -

10. MULLINS, John. ? Deacon.

A. -

B. Chaplain to Elizabeth.

1573 Preacher at Pauls Cross when he inveighed against Whittingham's party, and so was published "The Troubles of Frankfurt".

1576, 1584 Member of the High Commission. (R. G. Usher op.cit. 355.)

C. On the side of authority, and in much favour. Field and Wilcox were entrusted to his care,

March 1573. A possible reason for his flight may be marriage. When he died in 1591 he left a daughter, Mary, married to a Walter Chetwynd of Staffs. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 ff. 141, 142.)

11. NEWTON, Theodore. Badgworth. Priest ?

A. B. -

C. Deprived through insufficiency of orders, Oct. 1554. He was actually instituted to the prebendry at Canterbury on Oct. 20th 1559. (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. 236 who says that his name was merely proposed, quoting Strype.) (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. V I f. 63b.) He was subsequently ordained deacon Jan. 25th 1560 by Grindal.

12. POWNALL, Robert. Barwick. Student, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. The D.N.B. (XVI 264) particularly says that this man came from Somerset (and cf. Strype, Life of Grindal 1710 ed. p. 40), although Miss Garrett (op.cit. 259) has placed him in Dorset. With regard to his life under Elizabeth - hitherto unknown - on March 4th 1563/4 he was presented to St. Clement's vicarage, Sandwich¹ (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 363r). His will was proved August 31st 1571; it is full of theology and an epitome of impractical poverty. He bequeathed his soul to God "that yt woulde please him to place the same amongst the soules of the blessed", his body he desired "to be reverently buried in the boddye of Christes Church (i.e. the Cathedral, Canterbury) by Mr. Bale". He mentioned his children, but not by name, and merely committed them to God. To the poor of Harbledown parish - now part of the city of Canterbury -, he left 5/-.

¹ D.N.B. op.cit. 264 says that from 1562-70 he was also rector of Harbledown, but it makes no mention of Sandwich.

To "Mr. Turpyn minister of Dover" (q.v. Calais) he left a worsted cassock. The residue went to his wife Jane. (Kent Co. Record Office ms. C 31 ff. 286r-288v.)

13. STOWELL, William. Bagborough. Gent.

A. B. -

C. A confederate of Stafford, taken prisoner at Scarborough. A relative of the Carews.

14. WALTON, William. ? Ex-religious.

A. B. -

C. I believe he became acquainted with Nicholas Foljambe before or during his exile (q.v. Derbyshire)- possibly Walton went to Geneva -, and upon his return was presented by Geoffrey Foljambe to Wheatley Church, 1559. (P.R.O. S.P. 12/10 p. 186.)

15. WILLIAMS, Charles. Bristol. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Engaged in piratical operations against the Spaniards. (Dasent VI p. 214 and V p. 59.) In April 1554, John Courtenay, Peter Killigrew, and Williams were at sea with three boats in the Channel. (Cal. Sp. Papers XII p. 216.)

16. WILLIAMS, Walter. Bristol. Merchant.

A. B. -

C. Probably a relative of Charles (above). On April 22nd 1554 "one William maryner of Bristow for conveying Barlo late Byshop of Bathe over see was committed to the Marshalsea". (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f. 45 from orig. Council Bk. Qn. Mary.) In such activities may this exile have been concerned.

G L O U C E S T E R S H I R E

1. CROWLEY, Robert. ? Author, printer,
divine.
 - A. -
 - B. 1559 Oct. 19th, Preached at Pauls Cross.
1561 March 31st, Preached at Pauls Cross. (J.
M. Cowper, Select Works of R. Crowley p. x ed.
Early Eng. Text Soc.)
1580 Sept. Appointed "by sufficient authoritye"
to confer with, and confute, papists in H.M.
prisons. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 f. 104, from
Reg. Bishops of London.)
 - C. In 1548, with Day and Seres, had published 3
controversial books on the new doctrines. He
printed also Piers Plowman which bears Whitchurch's
cypher (q.v. London and T. Seres, Kent).
In 1565 his deprivation for nonconformity con-
cerned only, it seems, his prebendal stall at
St. Paul's, for in 1574 he preached to the Mayor
and the "whole state of the Citye", in Guildhall,
and in 1588 he was still parson of St. Giles
without Cripplegate. (Notes and Queries series
I 1 p. 333, but cf. D.N.B. V 241.)
2. HETON, Guy. Gloucester. Ex-religious, Archdeacon
of Gloucester.
 - A. B. -
 - C. Chaplain to Bishop Hooper, he was deprived for
marriage. Besides being restored to his arch-
deaconry, he was also appointed to the Vicarage
of St. Leonards Shoreditch, May 1576, which he
held until his death. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms.
981 f. 139.)
3. HOOPER, Daniel. Gloucester. Gent.
 - A. B. -
 - C. Son of Bishop Hooper, who accompanied his mother
and his sister Rachel abroad. (Parker Soc. Orig.
Letters I 92, 114 and 110.)

4. OLDSWORTH, Edward. Tewkesbury. Gent.
A. B. -
C. Friend of Bishop Hooper, and Daniel's guardian when Mrs. Hooper died.
5. OLDSWORTH, Thomas. Poltens Court and Tewkesbury. Gent, later ordained.
A. B. -
C. Edward's brother.
6. POYNTZ, John. Ireton Acton. Gent.
A. -
B. 1593 M.P. Gloucester County.
C. Nephew of Thomas Poyntz, the friend of Tyndale. His father, Sir Nicholas Poyntz, whilst appointed to guard Princess Elizabeth, was suspected by the Spanish Ambassador of permitting intrigue between her and other protestant rebels in February 1553/4. (Cal. Sp. Papers XII p. 82.) (cf. Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford.)
7. SAMFORD, John. Gloucester. Merchant.
A. B. -
C. April 17th 1551 Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, wrote to Cecil requesting license for himself and Samford to eat flesh upon fish days. (Cal. S.P. Dom. vol. XIII no. 13.)
8. SAULE, By Bristol. Gent.
A. B. -
C. Oct. 1553 expelled from Magdalen College at Gardiner's visitation.

W I L T S H I R E

1. FAWCNER, John. Barford. Rector.

A. B. -

C. 1548 Rector of Barford, yet not ordained deacon until 1550 and never priested before his flight. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 152 from W. H. Frere, Marian Reactions p. 212 and note.)

2. SPENSER, Thomas. Wroughton. Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. Possibly of that family of whom one was said to have been burnt as an heretic 1488. (Brit. Mus. Harl. ms. 421 f. 131.) Ordained by Grindal 1560.

W A R W I C K S H I R E

1. BURY, Edward. Barton-on-the-Heath. Gent.

A. B. C. -

2. HOPKINS, Richard. Coventry. Draper.

A. 1554 Sheriff and Mayor of Coventry.

B. -

C. Jan. 1554 committed to the Fleet for "evyll relygion", (Dasent V p. 94) and whilst there he sent a thief, a fellow-prisoner, "a certain English book of Scripture for his spiritual comfort". A friend of the martyr John Bradford who wrote to him. (Foxe A and M VII 249-250.)

3. HOPKINS, Thomas. Coventry. Draper ?

A. B. -

C. Son of Richard, above, died at Aarau 1558.

4. ROGERS, Daniel. ? Gent.

A. -

- B. Much work as diplomatist in the Low Countries.
 1584 Diplomatic mission to Germany "to prevent a division and schism among the protestants", taken prisoner and ransomed by "contributions" from the clergy. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 982 f. 136 and ms. Cat. 42 art. 75.)
 1587 Clerk of the Council.
 1588 Agent sent to Denmark. (Hist. ms. Com. Burleigh Papers II 627.)
 1588-89 M.P. Newport Borough, Cornwall.

- C. Son of John Rogers, the martyr, once chaplain to the English House at Antwerp. His father's library, at his death "contained some theological books at that time much sought after, on account of their rarity." (H. J. Hessels, Ecclesiae Londino - Batavae Archivum I p. 780 Letter, Rademachus to Ortelianus, Aug. 1603, Translation, and p. 772 Rademachus to J. Cool, July 1603.) In 1570 Rogers acted as a guide in Ireland to certain "German Counts", upon the Queen's instructions. (Ibid. p. 100 episode not mentioned in the D.N.B. XVII 116.) A friend and correspondent of George Buchanan from whom he received a copy of "De Jure Regni", as soon as it was printed. (Irving, Life of Buchanan, p. 253.)

5. THROCKMORTON, John. Coughton. Gent.

A. B. -

- C. Implicated in both Wyatt and Dudley conspiracies. Beheaded 1556. (Baga de Secretis, p. 255.)

6. THROCKMORTON, Sir Nicholas. Coughton. Gent.

- A. 1543 Household official to Catherine Parr.
 1545 M.P. Malden.
 1547-52 M.P. Devizes.
 1550 Gent. of the King's Privy Chamber and Treasurer of the Mint in the Tower to Edward VI. (Dasent IV 76, 77, 84, and Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 34.2.14 no. 29 orig. letter, Scudamore to Hoby, April 1550.)

March 1553 M.P. Northants. County.
Oct. 1553 M.P. Old Sarum Borough.

- B. 1558 Chief Butler of England, and one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer.
Keeper of Brigstock Park, Northants., by order of the Council. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. III f. 78.)
1558-9 M.P. Lyme Regis.
1560-64 Ambassador to France.
1563 M.P. Tavistock Borough, Francis Russel's nominee.
1565 Ambassador to Scotland, to oppose Darnley marriage.
1566 Representative at the Baptism of James VI. (Reg. Ho. Inventory of S. P. Scots, 1292-1761 no. 83.)
1567 Again to Scotland.
- C. One of those who signed the Letters Patent limiting the Crown to Queen Jane. He married into the Carew family, and was involved in Wyatt's rebellion.
His acquittal, by what Renard called a packed jury of heretics, so mortified the Queen that she was ill for 3 days, yet he received a pardon and restoration of his property, May 1st 1557 - i.e. under Mary - and returned to England probably in June 1557. There is extant a curious 17th century copy of a letter from Throckmorton to the new Queen, written some hours after Mary's death, in which he presumes to advise her to appoint Cecil as her Secretary "and noe other untill I may speake with your highnes, what time I will present unto you other remembrances meete to bee without delay putt in execution." (E.H.R. vol. LXV 1950 p. 94 Prof. J. E. Neale "Throckmorton's advice to Queen Eliz., from C.C.C.C. ms. 543 ff. 31b-35b and Cal. S. P. Spanish XII pp. 221, 228.) Either he was very presumptuous, or he was much more intimate with Elizabeth than has ever been suspected.¹ For other offices, he

¹ One is inclined to consider him presumptuous. On Jan. 18th 1564/5 he wrote to Lethington about the negotiations for Leicester's marriage. He advises Lethington to court Cecil's good humour in the matter, yet he adds "beware you take no knowledge untill the occasion be offeryd you over/

recommended the following exiles for posts: Sir Anthony Cooke, Lord Chancellor; Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller; Sir Peter Carew, Master of the Horse; Earl of Bedford, amongst others, for the choice of Lord Chamberlain. For Vice-Chamberlain he suggested: Sir Thomas Wrothe and Sir Francis Knollys, amongst others; for one of the Clerks of the Council, Thomas "Randoll". Little of this advice was taken, however. Regarding the rumour of his death due to poison in a salad, eaten in Leicester's house, and supposedly administered by his host, a letter has been found from Leicester to Walsingham written 2 days after his death - i.e. Feb. 14th 1570/71 -: "We have lost on Monday last our good Frend Sir Nicholas Throckmorton who died in my house being there suddenly taken in great extremity on the Tuesday before; his lungs were perished, but a sudden cold he had taken was the cause of his speedie death." (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f. 84 and cf. D.N.B. XIX 813.) His death therefore was not sudden.

H E R E F O R D S H I R E

1. PARRY, Henry. Wormbridge. Chancellor, Salisbury Cathedral.
 - A. -
 - B. 1559 One of the Visitors for the Western Diocese. (Strype, Annals, I 1 p. 290.)
 - C. 1553 Deprived of his Chancellorship, which was restored under Elizabeth. Besides this appointment, (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 245) he also received, Feb. 17th 1559/60, the parish church of Sutton, Winchester diocese (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 166v), and, for 1570 only, the prebendal stall of Botivant, York. (York Dean and Chap. Lib. ms. D 4.)

by some other meyns then by thys off myne." (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 3657 f. 9. Orig. letter.)

2. PARRY, Leonard. Wormbridge. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Possibly Henry's brother. Their cousin, Blanche, a sincere protestant, was Keeper of the Queen's Jewels and gentlewoman of her Privy Chamber. (Stowe, Survey of London, p. 810.)

3. SEBORNE, Christopher. Sutton. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Probably concerned in the rising in the West 1554, for the family were important land-holders in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. (C. H. Garrett op.cit. 286.)

W O R C E S T E R S H I R E

1. BULLINGHAM, Nicholas. Worcester. Archdeacon.

A. 1549-50 Commission to investigate Anabaptists and other heretics.

B. 1560 Bishop of Lincoln.
1571 Translated to Worcester.

C. Once Chaplain to Cranmer, he was already married before exile.

2. HARVEL, Richard. Besford. Gent.

A. B. -

C. Brother of Henry VIII's envoy to Venice, who was a favourite of Cromwell. (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Nero B VII f. 119.)

3. JOHNSON, William. Worcester. Priest and school-master.

A. B. -

C. Secular, unbeneficed priest, deprived in Norwich diocese 1555, (E.H.R. 1933 p. 53, see also Stowe,

Survey of London, 1633 ed. p. 191) he had previously been suspended in March 1553/4. (Norwich Reg. Consistory Court Act.Bk. 1553-58 March 13th.) He returned under Elizabeth, and, as rector of Cantly, Norwich Diocese, was cited for non-residence, Oct. 2nd 1567. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I ff. 335 r and v.)

4. LANGHORN, Richard. Merchant, later ordained by Grindal.
 A. B. -
 C. Also of Calais, he may have left that city after the round up of suspected heretics, March 1555, which would account for his arrival in Frankfurt, May 1555. (E.H.R. 1935 p. 500 et seq.)
5. LARGE, Edward. Worcester. Ex-religious.
 A. B. -
 C. In constant trouble from 1523 onwards for the violence of his opinions. (G. Baskerville, English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries, p. 238 n.)

S H R O P S H I R E

1. MARSTON, John. Ascott and Heyton. Gent.
 A. B. C. -
2. THYNNE, William. ? Canon.
 A. B. -
 C. Brother of that Sir John, who managed the Duke of Somerset's estates. Abroad in 1553, he may be a fugitive from the Northumberland faction.
3. WOODDE, William. Shynewood. Gent.
 A. B. -
 C. His mother was a Harrington, possibly of the

family of Robert Harrington, a "sustainer" of the exiles, friend of Laurence Saunders the Martyr. (Strype, Eccles. Mem. III 1 p. 224.)

STAFFORDSHIRE

1. BAGNAL, Sir Ralph. Dieulacres Abbey. Gent.
 - A. Oct. 1553. M.P. Newcastle under Lyme.
 - B. 1559 M.P. Staffordshire.
1562 M.P. Newcastle under Lyme.
 - C. Implicated in the Dudley conspiracy, he fled to France. (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80 vol. VIII no. 19 Henry Wasse to Sir E. Hastings, April 22nd 1556.)
2. DUDLEY, Sir Henry. Dudley. Gent.
 - A. Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI. Captain of the Guard at Boulogne under Edward VI.
1551 Captain of the Guard at Guisne.
1553 Lieutenant of the Narrow Seas. (F. S. Thomson, Historical Notes 353, Cal. S.P. For. 1547-53 nos. 17, 324, 327, Dasent IV p. 279, Cal. Span. Papers 1553 p. 67.)
 - B. -
 - C. Chief actor in the Dudley conspiracy. (Sp. Cal. XI 87, 208.)
3. JAMES, Arthur. Chebsey. Servant.
 - A. B. -
 - C. Servant to Sir William Stafford, and probably involved in conspiracy.
4. MEVERAL, Sampson. Throwly. Gent.
 - A. B. -
 - C. A Dudley conspirator. (Camd. Soc. XLII p. 103 Machyn's diary.)

5. OLDE, John. ? Priest.
- A. B. -
- C. A Henrican Protestant, protégé of the Duchess of Somerset, March 1548/9 presented to Cubington Vicarage by Edward VI. (Bulletin of the Institute of Hist. Res. XXI p. 83.)
6. STAFFORD, Thomas. Gent, of royal descent.
- A. B. -
- C. A conspirator, beheaded 1557. (Camd. Soc. XLII p. 137.)
7. STAFFORD, Sir William. Blatherwick. Gent.
- A. 1548 Standard bearer, Gentlemen Pensioners.
- B. -
- C. His 1st wife was Anne Boleyn's sister, his 2nd was Thomas Stafford's sister. His father had been long a friend of Cromwell, and he himself had had his share of church plunder. Although no conspirator, he fled and died abroad. (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Cleop. E IV f. 241, Sussex Arch. Soc. IV O.S. pp. 201, 222, 225.)
8. TURNER, Richard. ? (Called by Knox "of Wynsore", for he held a prebend there, Laing, Works IV p. 47.) Chantry priest.
- A. -
- B. Sept. 10th 1559 Preached at Pauls Cross.
- C. A sincere, but violent reformer. In Kent he taught that "the mass was superstitious ipocrysie and heresie, and against the Kings (i.e. Ed. VI) statute and with that he took out a booke of the statutes and read it". (Arch. Cant. XXXI pp. 93 et seq. from presentments Consistory Court, Cant.)

C H E S H I R E

1. BRADFORD, John. Nantwich. Gent.
 - A. B. -
 - C. A Dudley conspirator, a friend of Arundel and Derby. Executed at Tyburn for his part in Stafford's expedition.
2. GOODMAN, Christopher. Chester. Professor of Divinity.
 - A. B. -
 - C. Implicated in a plot by William Thomas to kill Queen Mary. (Foxe A and M VII pp. 732-4.)
3. WHITTINGHAM, William. Chester. Gent, later Dean of Durham.
 - A. -
 - B. 1572 Member of the High Commission, York Province. (P.R.O. S.P. 12 vol. CXIX no. 60)
 - C. A friend of Peter Martyr, whose passport for a safe-conduct abroad he obtained for him. (Parker Soc. Orig. Letters I pp. 370,372.)

L A N C A S H I R E

1. BIRCH, William. Manchester. Preacher.
 - A. B. -
 - C. A sincere reformer, ordained by Ridley, he had a license to preach "signed by K. Edward the vi own hand". (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f.102.) Possibly John Birch "the Kings entrelude player" at the Christmas revels 1551-2, was a relative. (A. J. Kempe, Loseley mss. no. 27.) William succeeded Laurence Vaux as Warden of Manchester College, being quickly dispossessed, however.

(Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 981 f. 102.) He died in 1572. (Ibid. and cf. C. H. Garrett who suggests 1575.)

2. CROFTON, Thomas. Bury ? Gent.

A. B. C. -

3. GYBSON, Thomas. Bury ? Dyer.

A. B. -

C. Possibly connected with a Thomas Gibson who, in 1574, was in trouble for distributing books of Browne and Harrison printed abroad. Possibly this Thomas was Browne's distributing agent in England. The exile died in 1558. (Trans. Bibliog. Soc. XI 1909-11 p. 81.)

4. LEVER, John. Little Lever. Student.

A. B. -

C. Brother of Thomas (below).

5. LEVER, Ralph. Little Leven. Student.

A. B. -

C. Brother of Thomas.(below).

6. LEVER, Thomas. Bolton. Master of St. John's College, Camb.

A. B. -

C. Strongly identified with the protestant court party, and he preached before the King 1549-50. Openly supported Northumberland at Cambridge during the rebellion. Two brothers were in the North under Elizabeth, Thomas as a prebendary of Durham, Ralph as Chaplain to Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, and as rector of Washington 1566-76, when he was succeeded in the rectory by the other brother. (York Dioc. Reg. Act Bk. High Com. 1576-80 f. 75.)

7. NOWELL, Alexander. Whalley. Priest.

- A. 1551 M.P. Looe, Cornwall, but his orders disqualified him. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 f.117.)
- B. 1559 Visitor for dioceses of Oxford, Lincoln, Peterborough and Lichfield.
Preacher at Pauls Cross.
1562, '72, '76, '84 Member of the High Commission.¹ (R. G. Usher op.cit. 356.)
1562 Prolocutor of Convocation (J. Lamb, Historical account of the 39 Articles, Oxford 1829 p.15) when he petitioned for the abolition of copes and surplices.
1588 Preached at Pauls Cross on the defeat of the Armada.
- C. In Dec. 1573, Nowell was confined to the City and a two mile radius, and was then to present himself at "the first Starre Chamber daye the next Easter Terme and in the meane time to behave himself dutifullye". (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 983 f. 11, from Council Bk. Queen Elizabeth.) He had, therefore, become involved in the "Admonition" controversy, an episode hitherto unremarked in his career. A friend of Humphrey Alcockson (q.v. unknown list), who, when he died, nominated Nowell and Thomas Wattes (q.v. Yorks) his executors. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker's Reg. I f. 229.) (See J. Woolton, below.)

8. NOWELL, (Laurence?). Whalley. Deacon.

- A. B. -
- C. Younger brother of Alexander (above). June 1555 deprived of the living of Drayton Bassett, because he had not been priested. (W. H. Frere, Marian Reaction in its relation to the English Clergy, p. 108-9.) Although it has been suggested that Laurence was in exile (e.g. D.N.B. XIV 695), no proof of his presence abroad has been discovered (see C. H. Garrett op.cit. 239). There were, however, 2 Alexander Nowells who signed the Discipline at Frankfurt. In

¹ D.N.B. XIV 691 also gives 1573, 1574, 1590.

Archbishop Pole's Visitation Register, 1556, there is a record of Alexander Nowell junior, who, in the parish of St. John's, Thanet, was presented as not having received the Sacrament. Possibly it was he and not Laurence who was abroad in April 1557. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Pole's Visitation Reg. f. 39r.)

9. PILKINGTON, James. Rivington. Priest.

A. -

B. 1558-9 Prayer Book Revision?
1559-61 Master of St. John's College Camb., and
Regius Professor of Divinity.
1560, '61 Preached at Pauls Cross.
Bishop of Durham.
1572 Member of the High Commission, York Province.
(P.R.O. S.P. 12 vol. CXIX no. 60.)

C. A member of T. Lever's College, Cambridge, and
early adopted reforming views. In his will, he
appointed the Earl of Bedford one of his executors.¹
(York Dioc. Reg. Bishops Reg. 31 f. 11v.)

10. SANDYS, Edwin. Hawkeshead. Vice-Chancellor,
Cambridge.

A. 1553 Vice-Chancellor Cambridge University.

B. 1559 Preached at Pauls Cross.
Visitor for the North.
Bishop of Worcester.
1570 Translated to London.
1571 Member of the High Commission.
1576 Archbishop of York.

¹ An orig. letter from William Bill, Walter Haddon, William Maye, Robert Horne and Pilkington, written "frome Trinitie Colledge the 22 of Julie A^o 1559", to the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, whilst not sufficiently early to prove Pilkington's arrival in England in time to take part in the Prayer Book Revision, Dec. 1558 - March 1559, at least advances an earlier date for his arrival in England than the previously accepted one, given by Machyn as Feb. 29th 1559/60. (Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 5843 f. 40.)

C. Member of St. John's College, and a friend of Bucer, he openly supported Northumberland during the rebellion. Married Cecily Wilford (q.v. Kent).

11. TAILOR, James. ? Student.

A. B. C. -

12. TATTERSALL, Richard. Hurstwood ? Yeoman and Weaver.

A. B. C. -

13. UNSWORTH, Richard. ? Weaver

A. B. C. -

14. VINCENT, Richard. Sudden ? Gent.

A. B. -

C. One of those concerned in coining in Oxfordshire, with Chillester and Warcup, in order to finance the Dudley conspiracy. (See also R. Chrispe, Kent.)

15. WARBERTON, Thomas. ? Weaver.

A. B. C. - 1

16. WOOLTON, John. Whalley. Gent, later ordained.

A. -

B. 1578 Bishop of Exeter.

C. His mother was Isabella Nowell, sister of Alexander and Laurence (q.v. above), he accompanied the former abroad, returned, was ordained deacon by Grindal, and through his uncle's influence became the Warden of the Collegiate Church, Manchester. The Earl of Bedford's

¹ Warberton, Unsworth and Tattersall all lived in the house of Herr Hans Gysins, Aarau. (Archives of Aarau, quoted in C. H. Garrett op.cit. 355.)

wife, one of his patrons, recommended him to Burleigh for the Bishopric of Exeter, to which he was appointed, having previously held a canonry there from 1565. He held several livings in Devonshire, one being Haccombe Rectory, in the presentation of the Carew family. (Chetham Soc. ns. V p. 89, and A & Wood, History and Antiquities of Oxford II p. 123 1796 ed. Not in C. H. Garrett op.cit.)

W E S T M O R L A N D

1. BIRKBECK, Christopher. Kendal. Wool-merchant.

A. B. C. Presumably the wool trade had brought him into contact with continental reformers.

2. CARUS, John. Kirkby Lonsdale. Gent.

A. B. -

C. One of Archbishop Sandys' Brothers, later married his sister. In 1564 the family was described as favourable to religion. (Camd. Misc. IX, 77 Letters of the Bishops.)

3. GRASON, Richard. Kirkby Thore. Priest.

A. B. -

C. Dec. 1554 Deprived for marriage. (W. H. Frere, Marian Reaction p. 107.)

4. WILSON, Thomas. Kendal. Gent, later ordained.

A. B. -

C. Ordained by Grindal, 1561 Canon of Worcester, 1566 Archdeacon of Worcester, 1571 Dean of Worcester, where the Bishop was Nicholas Bul-
lingham. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Grindal Reg. f. 287v and Parker Reg. I f. 379r.) At some time he must have taken his D.D., because in 1576 he is referred to as Doctor Wilson, Dean of Worcester. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Grindal Reg. f. 287v.)

C U M B E R L A N D

1. GRINDAL, Edmund. Hensingham (or Copeland, Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. VI f. 51 Grindal to Cecil 1563.) Priest.
 - A. 1551 King's Chaplain.
 - B. 1559 Bishop of London.
1559, '62, '76 Member of the High Commission.
1570 Archbishop of York.
1575 Translated to Canterbury.
 - C. Friend of Ridley, who used him to argue for the advance of the reformed theology in various disputations.
2. HORNE, Robert. Cleator. Dean of Durham.
 - A. 1550 Chaplain to the King.
1552 Disputant at the conference over the Sacrament in Cecil and Morison's houses.
 - B. 1559 Disputant at the Westminster Conference.
1561 Bishop of Winchester.
 - C. -

N O R T H U M B E R L A N D

1. GYBSON, Thomas. Morpeth. Physician.
 - A. B. C. -
2. HOLIDAY, Adam. ? Gent, later ordained.
 - A. B. -
 - C. Ordained by Grindal upon his return.

W A L E S

1. EVANS, John. St. Davids Chaplain.
 - A. -

B. 1560 Clerk to the Council of Wales (Hist. ms. Com. 53 I pp. 329, 348) at a fee of £44.0.0 p.a. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.1. f. 18.)

C. Chaplain to the reforming Bishop Ferrar of St. Davids, who in 1528 was made to recant at Oxford with Delabar and others. (D.N.B. VI 1244.) (See Johns, below.)

2. JEFFREY, John. ? Servant.

A. B. -

C. I believe he was "the Welshman named John Jeffereye sometimes servant to the old Erle of Arundell, being accused for having of Bales bookes, with erroneous wordes by him uttered upon the same wth certaine prophecyes". Committed to the Marshalsea by the Council, Aug. 1546. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. 980 f 53 from Council Bk. ms.)

3. JOHNS, Sir Thomas ? Hermans Town (Pem.). Gent.

A. 1541 M.P. Pembroke Co.
1547 M.P. Pembroke Co.
1551 Member of Ed. VI Council for the Marches.

B. -

C. Like Evans, one of those who opposed Bishop Ferrar for being insufficiently protestant.

4. JONES, Thomas. Fountaingate (Cardigan). Bard.

A. B. -

C. Possibly the bard pardoned at Elizabeth's succession for unnamed misdemeanours. Also possibly he who, being in the Marshalsea in 1576 for some unknown offence, acted as Walsingham's spy upon his fellow prisoners who were Catholics. (Signet Lib. Articles on the 16c. no. 29 p.341.)

5. YOUNG, Thomas. Hodgeston (Pem.). Priest.

A. -

B. 1560 Bishop of St. Davids.
1561 Archbishop of York.

- C. Another of those who opposed Bishop Ferrar. Curiously enough, his daughter Jane was cited before the High Commission at York as a "notorious offendour against her Maties Laws", June 4th 1580. (York Dioc. Reg. Act Bk. High Com. 1576-80 f. 278v.)

U N K N O W N

1. ADISHE, Philip.
2. ALCOCKSON, Humphrey. His will was made Jan. 28th 1560/61 and he did not die, therefore, until 1561. (cf. C. H. Garrett op.cit. 70 who gives 1560.) He made 2 other exiles, Alexander Nowell and Thomas Wattes, his executors. To Richard Besley he owed 2/2, to Thomas Allen £3.10.0, to John Kelke £3.6.8, all these were once exiles. At his death he owned a monor at "Wilsdon" (Willesden?). Of his few other assets, there were: "thrie bibles englishe of Geneva printe being with him that married Mr. Whitechurches daughter". (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 89.)
3. ALVEY, John.
4. BENDALL, John. Possibly he who was admitted to the vicarage of Tenterden, Kent, Feb. 7th 1560/61 and perhaps in orders before flight. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 235.)
5. BRYCE, Thomas. Mentioned by Foxe (A and M VIII 384) as a purveyor of heretical books in London and Kent which he brought over from Wesel as an agent for Day and Singleton.
6. CAWBORN, John.
7. CHAMBERS, Richard. Brooke (Lives of the Puritans I. 375) says upon Mary's accession that Sampson and he collected money in London "for the support and encouragement of poor scholars in the two universities", but being discovered, fled abroad. This explains why Sampson and Chambers are found

living in the same house - that of the "good justice" Isaac, at Frankfurt - (Strype Eccles. Mem. III I 231 1822 ed.), and how Chambers became purse bearer to the exiles. Possibly he came from the home counties, being well enough known in London to collect funds from friends there, whilst he must have been known to Isaac, a Kentish man. He may have come from Royston, Herts. (C. H. Garrett, op.cit. 111.)

8. COKE, Michael.

9. COLTON, Edward.

10. COOKE, Robert. (Hitherto overlooked.) ?
Gent.

A. Keeper of the wine cellar to Henry VIII. (Strype, Eccles. Mem. II p. 70.)

B. 1573 One of the 32 Gentlemen of the Queen's Chapel at a salary of 4¹/₂d. a day. (Nat. Lib. Scot. ms. 17.1.1. f. 28.)

C. Friend of Parkhurst, Coverdale and Richard Turner at Court. Strype says that "he was against the Baptism of Infants, denied Original Sin, and concerning the Lord's Supper he dispersed divers odd things". Coverdale and Parkhurst found him much trouble "so that they were tired with him; for he was a man full of words, when Jewel, and other learned men, his friends, came sometimes to court to visit Parkhurst, Cooke would presently begin a dispute with them, and would never make an end." In exile, which he spent at Zurich, he became a friend of Gualter. (Parker Soc. Zurich Letters II p. 236.) Alive in 1573, he was only saved from dismissal from Court by a recantation of his Anabaptist heresies. Possibly an acquaintance of Knox, and against whose treatise on Anabaptism Knox wrote his "Confutation" in 1560, where he speaks of "The impudent writer or collector of this book, whose nature is better known unto me than unto many." (Laing, Works of Knox IV pp. 16, 13, 56.)

11. COPE, John. 1547 M.P. Northampton County.
Sheriff of Northants County.

12. DAVAGE, William.
13. EAST, Richard. Tailor.
14. FRACHT, Thomas.
15. GIBBONS, Richard. Weaver.
16. HAWKES, Peter. Cobbler.
17. HINDERSON, Bernard.
18. HOBBS, John.)
19. HOBBS, Leonard.) Servants of H. Parry (Herts.).
20. HOLLINGHAM, John.
21. IRELAND, William. Fellow of St. John's College, Camb.
22. KNELL, Thomas. 1573 Chaplain and Physician to the Earl of Essex in Ireland.
23. LAND, William. A Dudley conspirator who turned informer. (Cal. S. P. For. 1553-8 no. 570 Wotton to Qn. Mary Jan. 1556/7.)
24. LELANDE, Harry.
25. LEWIS, Michael.
26. LYNBROUGHE, Richard.
27. MOSGRAVE, Thomas. Possibly a soldier. Richard Mosgrave, Master of the Ordnance in the North 1595-1601, had a brother Thomas, Captain of "Bucastell", on the Border, taken prisoner by the Scots July 3rd 1596. (Reg. Ho. Border Corresp.)
28. NAGORS, Richard. Possibly the "Mr. Negos", chosen by the Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, to succeed Broughton in his fellowship 1580. The Master refused and the Fellows wrote to Burghley. (Brit. Mus. Lans. ms. Cat. XXX Art. 60.)
29. ORPHINSTRAWGE. Member of St. John's College, Camb.
30. POTTER, Richard.

31. RICHARDSON, Walter. Weaver.
32. RODKYN, William⁵.
33. ROO, George.
34. SEFOLD, George.
35. SOCCUS, William.
36. STUBBES, John. Possibly author of "Discoverie of a gaping gulf" 1579.
37. TRYTSON, Thomas. Probably a conspirator, in Bedford's train at Venice. (Venetian Cal. 1555-6 nos. 169, 171.)
38. VATES, John.
39. WOOD, John. Friend of the Horseys and of the Hales, and in Nov. 1559 presented by them to the parish church of Welford, Gloucester diocese. (Cath. Lib. Cant. ms. U 2 f. 27v.)

C A L A I S

1. BURCHER, John. Merchant.
A. B. -
C. A friend of Bullinger. (H. J. Hessels, Ecclesiae Londino - Batavae Archivum I p. 104.)
2. TURPIN, John. Gent.
A. B. C. -
3. TURPIN, Thomas. Gent, later ordained ?
A. B. -
C. Probably John's brother. Nov. 1564 presented to the rectory of Crondall by Parker. (Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 367r.) He died intestate at Dover, and his goods were administered

March 21st 1575/6. He left a widow Marion,
and one of his executors was Thomas Allen (q.v.
Kent) once an exile in Aarau like the Turpins.
(Kent Co. Record Office ms. C Act 7 f. 129v.)

A N T W E R P

1. SUTTON, Edmund. Merchant.

Possibly son of Thomas Sutton, Governor of the
Town 1535. (Brit. Mus. Cotton. ms. Galba B
X f. 310.)

A P P E N D I X I I

(For further discussion of this question see pp. 41 and 159 above.)

Archbishop Young's Visitation Articles, which were imposed soon after he had been confirmed in his Archbishopric on February 25th 1560/61, are the first entry in the Visitation Book, and are followed by an entry dated September 15th 1561. They are undated, but must have been written there between these two dates. Elsewhere¹ occur autograph signatures of the clergy who subscribed to them on July 6th 1561, so that they were certainly in use by that date and continued to be used probably until the Spring of 1563 and certainly as late as October 20th 1562:²

York Dioc. Reg. VI A I Visitation Bk. ff. 2, 3.

"Certeyn Articles whereunto as manye as hereafter shall either be ordayned or instituted to any Benefice or spūall Promocōn or admytted to any spūall or Ecclasticall function or office shall subscribe."

1. "Wee aknowledge and confesse, ffirste that holye Scripture conteyneth in itself all Doctrine of Religion. By the whiche gods veritye or trueth may sufficientlie be Established. And all Error convinced".

II. "That Athanasius belief confessed or published in the Counsell holden at Nice' (Nicea) and that wch cōmenly is called thapostle Crede, conteyneth most brieflye, tharticles of one faieth, set furthe or shewed, in sundry

- 1) York Dioc. Reg. Dioc. of York Act Book II fol. 2 f. 4.
- 2) York Dioc. Reg. Ibid. ff. 6v, 9r, 14r, 23, 24.

places of scripture. And that whosoever shall not believe the same are not to be receyved amonge true Catholickes."

III. "That that is the church of Christe in whiche the pure worde of God is preached, and the Sacraments accordinge to Christes ordinaunce, administred. And in whiche the Auctoritie of the Keys is duely used."

IV. "That every p'ticuler Church haith the auctoritie to institute change and abrogate or disannull all Ecclesiastical, Ceremonies and rites, for decent order onely and not for Edifyinge."

V. "That Christe left to us onely two sacraments expressed, that is to saye. Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper, in whiche grace is given to the Worthie Receyvor, althoughe the minister be an evell man. And that they proffert not the Receyvor unworthely, althoughe the minister be never so good a man."

VI. "That the custome of the Church in Baptizinge infants is comendable and to be observid."

VII. "That the Lordes supper is not onely a bare Signification of mutuall Benevolence or love of Christen men betwene themselves. But rather a full signification of our Redemption by Christes Deathe, and our Communion with Christe when the Communion of the Body and Bludde of the Lorde is trulye given and exhibited to the faithfulfull."

VIII. "That the sacrament of the Lordes supper was by the use of the primitive Church neither kepte neyther Caryed aboute, nor Lyfted uppe to be worshipped."

IX. "That the Masse wch was accustomed to be said of prests was not instituted of Christe but patched together by many Romyshe Bushops. And that it is not a sacrifice propiciatorie for the quicke and the deade."

X. "That the transubstantiation wch the scolemen helde of Brede and Wyne unto the body and Bludde of Christe, cannot be provyd oute of out of (i.e. twice) holy Scripture."

XI. "That every mortall synne, or wilfully comitted after Baptisme, is not irremysable or not forgyveable neither also a synne agaynste the holye gooste."

XII. "That after the Receyvinge of the holie gooste man may synne and come to state of grace agayne, and that no man livythe wthoute synne althoughe yt be not ymputed to them that be regenerat in Christe."

XIII. "That iustificacon by faieth onely is a most certeyn and assured doctryne of x'xen (i.e. Christian) men."

XIV. "That our Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of Englonde is thonlye and Supreame Gouvernesse of this realme, and all hir Dominions and Countreys whatsoever in matters and causeis Ecclēasticall as temporall."

XV. "That the Worde of God dothe not fforbydde the Regiment or rule of Wemen wch muste be obeyed accordynge to the ordinaunce of God."

XVI. "That the Busshoppe of Rome haith no iurisdiction in this realme. Nor any other forayne powre."

XVII. "That the Civill Lawes may punnishe Christen men by deith for there heynous offenceis."

XVIII. "That it is lefull for Christen men to fighte by the comaundement of there Prince and so swere or gyve othe in a iuste cause, and possesse things in proprietye, or as there owne."

XIX. "That the Scolemens doctryne of purgatorye and invocācon of saints haith no grounde, or foundacon of the worde of God."

XX. "That the comaundement of God is that those things whiche are redde in the churche may be utteryd in that tonge whiche may be best undrestandyd of the congregacon."

XXI. "That yt is not lefull for any man to intrude himself into any ministerye Ecclesiasticall or secular, wthoute Externe and Lefull callinge."

XXII. "That matrimony Emongest Christen men lefullye accordinge to the worde of God solempnized and contracted, Cannot be dissolvdyd neither by tradicions of men at any tyme, bedissolvdyd or infringed."

XXIII. "That sole lief is not comaundyd to any state of men neyther Inioned, to the ministers of the churche, by the

worde of God."

Here the articles break off unfinished.

But York Dioc. Reg. Diocese of York Act. Book II f.2 contains another copy with the 24th article:

"And I professe and accknowledge that all thes Articles are trewe and openlie to be taught and published and I will defend and teache the same accordinge to my abillittie and learneinge and I wytnes this my confessione by subscriptn of my name and I do thinke and judge the Contrary dectrean to be Abollisshed and wthall my hert I detest the same."

The fact that these Articles must have grown out of previous discussions is surely shewn by the sixth Article which Parker had previously imposed during his Metropolitan Visitation of the Province of Canterbury, dated September 17th 1560.

This Article says:

Lamb. Pal. Lib. Parker Reg. I f. 301.

"Item you shall inquier of the doctrine and judgement of all and singuler hedds and members of this your church whether any of them do either privelie or openlie preache or teache any unholsome erronious or seditious doctrine.....As for example to affirme and mainteine that the Quenes Maiestie that now is and her successours Kinges and Quenes of this Realme of England is not or ought not to be head or chief Governor of this her people or church of England, as well in ecclesiasticall causes or matters as temporall, or that it is not lawfull for any perticuler church or province to alter rites and ceremonies, to edifie or to extoll any supersticiouse religion as Reliques pilgramaiges lyghtynges of candels Kissinge Knelinge or decking of ymages or prayeng in a tonge not known rather then Englishe, or to put truste in a certaine number of pater nosters or to mainteine purgatorie, private masses, Trentals or any other founde fastasie invented by man

without ground of goddes worde, or to saie teache or mayneteine that children being infantes shold not be baptized, or that every article of our crede commonly receyved and used in the church is not (to) be beleved of necessitie, or that mortall and voluntarie synnes committed after baptysm be not remysseyble by penance, or that a man after he have receyved the hollie goste cannot synne and afterwarde ryse againe by grace to repentaunce, or that any man lyveth witheout synne, or that (it) is not lawfull to swere for certaine causes, or that civill magistrates cannot punyshe for certaine crymes a man with deathe, or that it is lawfull for any man witheout outward caulding to take uppon him any mynistry in Christs church, or that the wourde of god dothe prohibite the regement of women, or that the worde of god dothe command sole lyfe or abstinence from mariage to any mynyster of the Church of Christe, or any other errors or false doctrine contrarie to the faieith of Christe and hollie scriptures."

It is noteworthy that amongst the additions to Parker's Articles made by Young in his Articles, occur the following:

Article V definitely states the number of Sacraments, which question Parker had tactfully ignored.

Articles VII, VIII, IX, X all deal with the question of Communion, Elevation, Transubstantiation and the Romish Mass, which Parker also omitted.